

POLITICAL TRACTS.

VOL. II.

By the AUTHOR of
GULLIVER'S TRAVELS.



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MDCCXXXVIII.

POLITICAL

TRACTS

VOL. II

GUTHRIE'S TRAVELS



LONDON

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1836

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T H E
P U B L I C K S P I R I T
O F T H E
W H I G S:

Set forth in their

Generous Encouragement

O F T H E
A U T H O R o f t h e *C R I S I S*.

W I T H S O M E
O B S E R V A T I O N S
O N T H E
Seasonableness, Candour, Erudition, and Style
O F T H A T
T R E A T I S E.

Written in the Year MDCCXII.

Vol. II.

B

PUBLICK SPIRIT
OF THE
S. G. I. H. W.
Selfish in their
Advertisement.

UPON the first Publication of this Pamphlet, all the Scotch Lords, then in London, went in a Body, and complained to Queen ANNE of the Affront put on them and their Nation, by the Author of this Treatise. Whereupon a Proclamation was published by her Majesty, offering a Reward of Three hundred Pounds to discover him. The Reason for offering so small a Sum was, that the Queen and Ministry had no Desire to have our supposed Author taken into Custody.



THE
PUBLICK SPIRIT
OF THE
WHIGS, &c.

I CANNOT without some Envy, and a just Resentment against the opposite Conduct of others, reflect upon that Generosity and Tenderness, wherewith the Heads and principal Members of a struggling Faction treat those who will undertake to hold a Pen in their Defence. And the Behaviour of these Patrons is yet the more laudable, because the Benefits they confer are almost *gratis*: If any of their Labourers can scratch out a Pamphlet, they desire no more; there is no Question offered about the Wit, the Style, the Argument. Let a Pamphlet come out upon Demand in a proper Juncture, you shall be well and certainly paid; you shall be paid before-hand; every one of the Party who is able to read, and can spare a Shilling, shall be a Subscriber: Several thousands of each Production shall be sent among their Friends through the Kingdom: The Work shall be reported admirable, sublime, unanswerable; shall serve to raise the sinking Clamours, and confirm the Scandal of introducing Popery and the Pretender, upon the QUEEN and her Ministers.

AMONG the present Writers on that Side, I can recollect but three of any great Distinction, which are the *Flying Post*, Mr. *Dunton*, and the Author of the *Crisis*: The first of these seems to have been much sunk in Reputation since the sudden Retreat of the *only true genuine original Author* Mr. *Ridpath*, who is celebrated by the *Dutch Gazeteer*, as *one of the best Pens in England*. Mr. *Dunton* hath been longer and more conversant in Books than any of the three, as well as more voluminous in his Productions: However, having employed his Studies in so great a Variety of other Subjects, he hath, I think, but lately turned his Genius to Politicks. His famous Tract, intituled, *Neck or nothing*, must be allowed to be the shrewdest Piece, and written with the most Spirit of any which hath appeared from that Side since the Change of the Ministry: It is indeed a most cutting Satire upon the Lord Treasurer and Lord *Bollingbroke*, and I wonder none of our Friends ever undertook to answer it. I confess I was at first of the same Opinion with several good Judges, who, from the Style and Manner suppose it to have issued from the sharp Pen of the Earl of *Nottingham*; and I am still apt to think it might receive his Lordship's last Hand. The Third and Principal of this Triumvirate is the Author of the *Crisis*; who, although he must yield to the *Flying Post* in Knowledge of the World, and Skill in Politicks, and to Mr. *Dunton* in Keeness of Satire, and Variety of Reading; hath yet other Qualities enough to denominate him a Writer of a superior Class to either; provided he would a little regard the Propriety and Disposition of his Words, consult the Grammatical Part, and get some Information in the Subject he intends to handle.

OMITTING

OMITTING the generous Countenance and Encouragement that have been shewn to the Persons and Productions of the two former Authors, I shall here only consider the great Favour conferred upon the last. It hath been advertised for several Months in *The Englishman*, and other Papers, that a Pamphlet, called, *The Crisis*, should be published at a proper Time, in order to open the Eyes of the Nation. It was proposed to be printed by Subscription, Price a Shilling. This was a little out of Form; because Subscriptions are usually begged only for Books of great Price, and such as are not likely to have a general Sale. Notice was likewise given of what this Pamphlet should contain; only an Extract from certain Acts of Parliament relating to the Succession, which at least must sink Ninepence in the Shilling, and leave but Three-pence for the Author's political Reflections; so that nothing very wonderful or decisive could be reasonably expected from this Performance. But, a Work was to be done, a hearty Writer to be encouraged, and accordingly many thousand Copies were bespoke: Neither could this be sufficient; for when we expected to have our Bundles delivered us, all was stopt; the Friends to the Cause sprang a new Project, and it was advertised that the *Crisis* could not appear till the Ladies had shewn their Zeal against the *Pretender*, as well as the Men; against the *Pretender* in the Bloom of his Youth, reported to be handsome, and endued with an Understanding exactly of a Size to please the Sex. I should be glad to have seen a printed List of the fair Subscribers prefixed to this Pamphlet; by which the *Chevalier* might know he was so far from *pretending* to a Monarchy here, that he could not so much as *pretend* to a Mistress.

AT the destined Period, the first News we hear, is of a huge Train of Dukes, Earls, Viscounts, Barons, Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen, and others, going to *Sam. Buckley's* the Publisher of the *Crisis*, to fetch home their Cargoes, in order to transmit them by Dozens, Scores, and Hundreds, into the several Counties, and thereby to prepare the Wills and Understandings of their Friends against the approaching Sessions. Ask any of them whether they have read it? They will answer, No; but they have sent it every where, and it will do a World of Good: It is a Pamphlet, and a Pamphlet they hear against the Ministry; talks of Slavery, *France*, and the Pretender; they desire no more; it will settle the Wavering, confirm the Doubtful, instruct the Ignorant, inflame the Clamorous, although it never be once looked into. I am told by those who are expert in the Trade, that the Author and Bookseller of this Twelve-penny Treatise, will be greater Gainers, than from one Edition of any Folio that hath been published these twenty Years. What needy Writer would not sollicite to work under such Masters, who will pay us before-hand, take off as much of our Ware as we please at our own Rates, and trouble not themselves to examine either before or after they have bought it, whether it be staple or no?

BUT, in order to illustrate the implicate Munificence of these noble Patrons, I cannot take a more effectual Method than by examining the Production itself; by which we shall easily find that it was never intended, further than from the Noise, the Bulk, and the Title of *Crisis*, to do any Service to the factious Cause. The entire Piece consists of a Title Page, a Dedication to the Clergy, a Preface, an Extract from certain Acts of Parliament, and about
ten

ten Pages of dry Reflections on the Proceedings of the QUEEN and her Servants; which his Coadjutors, the Earl of Nottingham, Mr. *Dunston*, and the *Flying Post*, had long ago set before us in a much clearer Light.

IN Popish Countries, when some Impostor cries out, *A Miracle! A Miracle!* it is not done with a Hope or Intention of converting Hereticks, but confirming the deluded Vulgar in their Errors; and so the Cry goes round without examining into the Cheat. Thus the Whigs among us give about the Cry, *A Pamphlet! A Pamphlet! The Crisis! The Crisis!* not with a View of convincing their Adversaries, but to raise the Spirits of their Friends, recall their Stragglers, and unite their Numbers by Sound and Impudence; as Bees assemble and cling together by the Noise of Brags.

THAT, no other Effect could be imagined or hoped for, by the Publication of this timely Treatise, will be manifest, from some obvious Reflections upon the several Parts of it; wherein the Follies, the Falshoods, or the Absurdities, appear so frequent, that they may boldly contend for Number with the Lines.

WHEN the Hawker holds this Pamphlet towards you, the first Words you perceive are, *The Crisis: Or, A Discourse*, &c. The Interpreter of *Suidas* gives four Translations of the Word *Crisis*; any of which may be as properly applied to this Author's Letter to the Bailiff of *Stockbridge*. Next, what he calls *A Discourse*, consis only of two Pages, prefixed to twenty two more, which contain Extracts from Acts of Parliament; for as to the twelve last Pages, they are provided for by themselves in the Title under the Name of *Some Seasonable Remarks on the Danger of a Popish Successor*. Another Cir-

cumstance worthy of our Information in the Title-Page, is, That the Crown hath been settled by *previous Acts*. I never heard of any Act of Parliament that was not previous to what it enacted, unless those two by which the Earl of *Strafford* and Sir *John Fenwick* lost their Heads, may pass for Exceptions. *A Discourse, representing from the most authentick Records*. He hath borrowed this Expression from some Writer, who probably understood the Words; but this Gentleman hath altogether misapplied them; and under Favour, he is wholly mistaken; for a Heap of Extracts from several Acts of Parliament, cannot be called a Discourse; neither do I believe, he copied them from the most authentick Records, which as I take it are lodged in the *Tower*, but out of some common printed Copy. I grant there is nothing material in all this, further than to shew the Generosity of our Adversaries in encouraging a Writer, who cannot furnish out so much as a Title-Page with Propriety or common Sense.

NEXT follows the Dedication to the Clergy of the Church of *England*, wherein the Modesty and the Meaning of the first Paragraphs are hardly to be matched. He tells them, he hath made a *Comment upon the Acts of Settlement*, which he *lays before them*, and *conjures them to recommend in their Writings and Discourses to their Fellow-Subjects*; and he doeth all this, *out of a just Deference to their great Power and Influence*. This is the right Whig-Scheme of directing the Clergy what to preach. The Archbishop of *Canterbury's* Jurisdiction extends no further than over his own Province; but the Author of the *Crisis* constitutes himself Vicar-General over the whole Clergy of the Church of *England*. The Bishops in their Letters or Speeches

to their own Clergy proceed no further than to *Exhortation*; but this Writer conjures the whole Clergy of the Church to *recommend* his *Comment upon the Laws* of the Land in their *Writings and Discourses*. I would fain know, who made him a *Commentator upon the Laws* of the Land; after which it will be time enough to ask him, by what Authority he directs the Clergy to *recommend* his Comments from the Pulpit or the Press?

He tells the Clergy *there are two Circumstances which place the Minds of the People under their Direction*; the first Circumstance is their Education; the second Circumstance is the Tenth of our Lands. This last, according to the *Latin Phrase*, is spoken *ad invidiam*; for he knows well enough, they have not a twentieth: But if you take it in his own Way, the Landlord has nine Parts in ten of the People's Minds under his Direction. Upon this Rock the Author before us is perpetually splitting, as often as he ventures out beyond the narrow Bounds of his Literature. He hath a confused Remembrance of Words since he left the University, but hath lost half their Meaning, and puts them together with no Regard, except to their Cadence; as I remember a Fellow nailed up Maps in a Gentleman's Closet, some sideling, others upside down, the better to adjust them to the Pannels.

I AM sensible it is of little Consequence to their Cause, whether this Defender of it understand Grammar or no; and if what he would fain say, discovered him to be a Well-willer to Reason or Truth, I would be ready to make large Allowances. But when with great Difficulty I descry a Composition of Rancour and Falshood, intermixed with plausible Nonsense; I feel a Struggle between Contempt and Indignation, at seeing the Character

of

of a *Censor*, a *Guardian*, an *Englishman*, a *Commentator* on the *Laws*, an *Instructor* of the *Clergy*, assumed by a Child of Obscurity, without one single Qualification to support them.

THIS Writer, who either affects, or is commanded of late to copy after the Bishop of *Sarum*, hath, out of the Pregnancy of his Invention, found out an old Way of insinuating the grossest Reflections under the Appearances of Admonitions; and is so judicious a Follower of the Prelate, that he taxes the Clergy for *inflaming their People with Apprehensions of Danger to them and THEIR Constitution, from Men who are innocent of such Designs*. When he must needs confess, the whole *Design* of his Pamphlet is *to inflame the People with Apprehensions of Danger* from the present Ministry, whom we believe to be at least as *innocent Men* as the last.

WHAT shall I say to a Pamphlet, where the Malice and Falshood of every Line would require an Answer, and where the Dulness and Absurdities will not deserve one?

By his pretending to have always maintained an inviolable Respect to the Clergy, he would insinuate, that those Papers among the *Tailors* and *Speakers*, where the whole Order is abused, were not his own: I will appeal to all who know the Flatness of his Style, and the Barrenness of his Invention, whether he doth not grossly prevaricate? Was he ever able to walk without Leading-strings, or swim without Bladders, without being discovered by his hobbling and his sinking? Hath he adhered to his Character in his Paper called the *Englishman*, whereof he is allowed to be sole Author, without any Competition? What does he think of the Letter signed by himself, which relates to *Molesworth*,
in

in whose Defence, he affronts the whole Convocation of *Ireland*.

It is a wise Maxim, that because the Clergy are no Civil Lawyers, they ought not to preach Obedience to Governors; and therefore they ought not to preach Temperance, because they are no Physicians: Examine all this Author's Writings, and then point me out a Divine who knoweth less of the Constitution of *England* than he; witness those many egregious Blunders in his late Papers, where he pretended to dabble in the Subject.

BUT the Clergy have it seems imbibed their Notions of Power and Obedience abhorrent from our Laws, from the pompous Ideas of Imperial Greatness, and the Submission to absolute Emperors. This is gross Ignorance, below a School-boy in his *Lucius Florus*: The *Roman* History wherein Lads are instructed, reacheth little above eight hundred Years, and the Authors do every where instil Republican Principles; and from the Account of nine in twelve of the first Emperors, we learn to have a Detestation against Tyranny. The *Greeks* carry this Point yet a great deal higher, which none can be ignorant of, who hath read or heard them quoted. This gave *Hobbes* the Occasion of advancing a Position directly contrary, That the Youth of *England* was corrupted in their political Principles, by reading the Histories of *Rome* and *Greece*, which having been writ under Republicks, taught the Readers to have ill Notions of Monarchy: In this Assertion there was something specious, but that advanced by the *Crisis* could only issue from the profoundest Ignorance.

BUT, would you know his Scheme of Education for young Gentlemen at the University? It is, that they should spend their Time in perusing those Acts
of

of Parliament, whereof his Pamphlet is an Extract, which, *if it had been done, the Kingdom would not be in its present Condition, but every Member sent into the World thus instructed since the Revolution, would have been an Advocate for our Rights and Liberties.*

HERE now is a Project for getting more Money by the *Crisis*, to have it read by Tutors in the Universities. I thoroughly agree with him, that if our Students had been thus employed for twenty Years past, *The Kingdom had not been in its present Condition.* But, we have too many of such Proficients already among the young Nobility and Gentry, who have gathered up their Politicks from Chocolate Houses, and factious Clubs, and who, if they had spent their Time in hard Study at *Oxford* or *Cambride*, we might indeed have said, that the factious Part of this Kingdom *had not been in its present Condition*, or have suffered themselves to be taught, that a few Acts of Parliament relating to the Succession are preferable to all other *Civil Institutions* whatsoever: Neither did I ever before hear, that an Act of Parliament relating to one particular Point could be called a Civil Institution.

He spends almost a Quarto Page in telling the Clergy, that they will be certainly perjured if they bring in the *Pretender* whom they have abjured; and he wisely reminds them, that they have sworn without Equivocation or Mental Reservation; otherwise the Clergy might think, that as soon as they received the *Pretender*, and turned *Papists*, they would be free from their Oath.

THIS honest, civil, ingenious Gentleman, knows in his Conscience, that there are not ten Clergymen in *England* (except Non-jurors) who do not abhor the Thoughts of the *Pretender* reigning over us, much more than himself, But this is the Spittle of the

the Bishop of *Sarum*, which our Author licks up, and swallows, and then coughs out again, with an Addition of his own Phlegm. I would fain suppose the Body of the Clergy were to return an Answer by one of their Members to these worthy Counsellors: I conceive it might be in the following Terms.

My Lord and Gentleman,

“ The Clergy command me to give you Thanks
 “ for your Advice; and if they knew any Crimes,
 “ from which either of you were as free, as they
 “ are from those, which you so earnestly exhort them
 “ to avoid, they would return your Favour as near
 “ as possible in the same Style and Manner. How-
 “ ever, that your Advice may not be wholly lost,
 “ particularly that Part of it which relates to the
 “ *Pretender*, they desire you would apply it to
 “ more proper Persons. Look among your own
 “ Leaders: Examine which of them engaged in a
 “ Plot to restore the late King *James*, and received
 “ Pardons under his Seal; examine which of them
 “ have been since tampering with his pretended
 “ Son, and to gratify their Ambition, their Avarice,
 “ their Malice and Revenge, are now willing
 “ to restore him at the Expence of the Religion and
 “ Liberty of their Country. Retire, good my
 “ Lord, with your Pupil, and let us hear no more
 “ of these hypocritical Insinuations, lest the *QUEEN*
 “ and Ministers, who have been hitherto content
 “ with only *disappointing* the lurking Villainies of
 “ your Faction, may be at last provoked to *expose*
 “ them.

BUT his Respect for the Clergy is such, that he doth not insinuate as if they really had these evil
 Dispo-

Dispositions; he only *insinuates*, that they give *too much Cause* for such *Insinuations*.

I WILL upon Occasion, strip some of his *Insinuations* from their Generality and Solecisms, and drag them into the Light. This Dedication to the Clergy is full of them, because here he endeavours to mold up his Rancour and Civility together; by which Constraint, he is obliged to shorten his Paragraphs, and to place them in such a Light, that they obscure one another. Supposing therefore, that I have scraped off his good Manners, in order to come at his Meaning which lies under; he tells the Clergy, that the Favour of the QUEEN and her Ministers, is but a *Colour of Zeal towards them*: That, the People were deluded by a groundless Cry of the Church's Danger at *Sacheverell's Tryal*; that, the Clergy, as they are *Men of Sense and Honour*, ought to preach this Truth to their several Congregations; and let them know, that the true Design of the present Men in Power in that and all their Proceedings since, in Favour of the Church, was to bring in *Popery, France and the Pretender*, and to enslave all *Europe*, contrary to the *Laws of our Country, the Power of the Legislature, the Faith of Nations, and the Honour of God*.

I CANNOT see, why the Clergy, as *Men of Sense, and Men of Honour* (for he appeals not to them as Men of Religion) should not be allowed to know when they are in Danger, and be able to guess whence it comes, and who are their Protectors. The Design of their Destruction indeed may have been projected in the dark; but when all was ripe, their Enemies proceeded to so many Overt-Acts in the Face of the Nation, that it was obvious to the meanest People, who wanted no other Motives to rouse them. On the other Side, can this Author,

or

or the wisest of his Faction, assign one single Act of the present Ministry, any way tending towards bringing in the *Pretender*, or to weaken the Succession of the House of *Hanover*? Observe then the Reasonableness of this Gentleman's Advice: The Clergy, the Gentry, and the common People had the utmost Apprehensions of Danger to the Church under the late Ministry; yet then it was the greatest Impiety to *inflame the People with any such Apprehensions*. His Danger of a *Popish* Successor from any Steps of the present Ministry, is an artificial Calumny raised and spread against the Conviction of the Inventors; pretended to be believed only by those who abhor the Constitution in Church and State; an obdurate Faction, who compass Heaven and Earth to restore themselves upon the Ruin of their Country; yet here our Author *exhorts the Clergy* to preach up this imaginary Danger to their People, and disturb the publick Peace with his strained seditious Comments.

BUT, how comes this gracious Licence to the Clergy from the *Whigs*, to concern themselves with Politicks of any Sort, although it be only the Glosses and Comments of Mr. Steele? The Speeches of the Managers at *Sacheverell's* Tryal, particularly those of *Stanhope*, *Lechmere*, *King*, *Parker*, and some others, seemed to deliver a different Doctrine. Nay, this very Dedication complains of *some in Holy Orders, who have made the Constitution of their Country* (in which and the Coptick Mr. Steele is equally skilled) *a very little Part of their Study, and yet made Obedience and Government the frequent Subjects of their Discourses*. This Difficulty is easily solved; for, by *Politicks*, they mean *Obedience*. Mr. *Hoadly*, who is a Champion for Resistance, was never charged as meddling
out

out of his Function: *Hugh Peters*, and his Brethren, in the Times of Usurpation, had full Liberty to preach up Sedition and Rebellion; and so here Mr. *Steele* issues out his Licence to the Clergy to preach up the *Danger of a Popish Pretender*, in Defiance of the QUEEN and her Administration.

EVERY Whiffler in a laced Coat, who frequents the Chocolate House, and is able to spell the Title of a Pamphlet, shall talk of the Constitution with as much Plausibility as this very Sollemn Writer, and with as good a Grace blame the Clergy for meddling with Politicks, which they do not understand. I have known many of these able Politicians, furnished before they were of Age, with all the necessary Topicks of their Faction, and by the Help of about twenty Polysyllables capable of maintaining an Argument that would shine in the *Crisis*; whose Author gathered up his little Stock from the same Schools, and hath writ from no other Fund.

BUT, after all, it is not clear to me, whether this Gentleman addresseth himself to the Clergy of *England* in general, or only to those very few (hardly enough in Case of a Change to supply the Mortality of those *Self-denying Prelates* he celebrates) who are in his Principles, and among these, only such as live in and about *London*, which probably will reduce the Number to about half a dozen at most. I should encline to guess the latter; because he tells them they are surrounded by a learned, wealthy, knowing Gentry, who know with what Firmness, Self-denial, and Charity; the Bishops adhered to the publick Cause, and what Contumelies those Clergymen have undergone, &c. who adhered to the Cause of Truth: By those Terms, the publick Cause, and the Cause of Truth, he understands the Cause of the Whigs

Whigs in Opposition to the QUEEN and her Servants: Therefore by the *learned, wealthy, and knowing Gentry*, he must understand the *Bank and East India Company*, and those other Merchants or Citizens within the Bills of Mortality, who have been strenuous against the Church and Crown, and whose Spirit of Faction hath lately got the better of their Interest. For, let him search all the rest of the Kingdom, he will find the *surrounded* Clergy, and the *surrounding* Gentry, wholly Strangers to the Merits of those Prelates; and adhering to a very different *Cause of Truth*, as will soon, I hope, be manifest by a fair Appeal to the Representatives of both.

It was very unnecessary in this Writer to bespeak the Treatment of *Contempt and Derision*, which the Clergy are to expect from his Faction whenever they come into Power. I believe, that venerable Body is in very little Concern after what Manner their most mortal Enemies intend to *treat* them, whenever it shall please God for our Sins to visit us with so fatal an Event, which I hope it will be the united Endeavours both of Clergy and Laity to hinder. It would be some Support to this Hope, if I could have any Opinion of his predicting Talent (which some have ascribed to People of this Author's Character) where he tells us, That *Noise and Wrath will not always pass for Zeal*. What other Instances of Zeal has this Gentleman or the rest of his Party been able to produce? If Clamour be *Noise*, it is but opening our Ears to know from what Side it comes: And, if Sedition, Scurrility, Slander and Calumny, be the Fruits of *Wrath*, read the Pamphlets and Papers issuing from the *Zealots* of that Faction, or visit their Clubs and Coffee-houses in order to form a Judgment of the Tree.

WHEN Mr. Steele tells us, *We have a Religion that wants no Support from the Enlargement of Secular Power, but is well supported by the Wisdom and Piety of its Preachers, and its own Native Truth*; it would be good to know what Religion he professeth: For, the Clergy to whom he speaks, will never allow him a Member of the Church of *England*; they cannot agree, that the *Truth* of the Gospel, and the *Piety* and *Wisdom* of its Preachers, are a sufficient *Support* in an Evil Age, against Infidelity, Faction, and Vice, without the Assistance of *Secular Power*; unless God would please to confer the Gift of Miracles on those who wait at the Altar. I believe, they venture to go a little further, and think, That upon some Occasions, they want a little *Enlargement of Assistance from the Secular Power*, against *Atheists, Deists, Socinians*, and other Hereticks. Every first Sunday in *Lent*, a Part of the Liturgy is read to the People; in the Preface to which, the Church declares her Wishes for the Restoring of that Discipline she formerly had, and which for some Years past hath been more wanted than ever. But of this no more, lest it might insinuate *Jealousies between the Clergy and Laity*, which, the Author tells us, is the *Policy of vain ambitious Men among the former, in Hopes to derive from their Order, a Veneration they cannot deserve from their Virtue*. If this be their Method for procuring Veneration, it is the most singular that ever was thought on; and the Clergy should then indeed have no more to do with Politicks of any Sort than Mr. Steele or his Faction will allow them.

HAVING thus toiled through his Dedication, I proceed to consider his Preface, which half consisting of Quotation, will be so much the sooner got through. It is a very unfair Thing in any Writer

to employ his *Ignorance* and *Malice* together, because it gives his Answerer double Work: It is like the Sort of *Sophistry* that the Logicians call *two Mediums*, which are never allowed in the same Syllogism. A Writer with a weak Head, and a corrupted Heart, is an over-match for any single Pen; like a hireling Jade, dull and vicious, hardly able to stir, yet offering at every Turn to kick.

He begins his Preface with such an Account of the Original of Power, and the Nature of Civil Institutions, as I am confident was never once imagined by any Writer upon Government from *Plato* to *Mr. Lock*. Give me Leave to transcribe his first Paragraph. *I never saw an unruly Crowd of People cool by Degrees into Temper, but it gave me an Idea of the Original of Power, and the Nature of Civil Institutions. One particular Man has usually in those Cases, from the Dignity of his Appearance, or other Qualities known or imagined by the Multitude, been received into sudden Favour and Authority, the Occasion of their Difference has been represented to him, and the Matter referred to his Decision.*

I HAVE known a Poet, who never was out of *England*, introduce a Fact by Way of Simile, which could probably no where happen nearer than in the Plains of *Libia*; and begin with, *So have I seen*. Such a Fiction I suppose may be justified by Poetical Licence; yet *Virgil* is much more modest. This Paragraph of *Mr. Steele's*, which he sets down as an Observation of his own, is a miserable mangled Translation of six Verses out of that famous Poet, who speaks after this Manner: *As when a Sedition arises in a great Multitude, &c. Then if they see a wise grave Man, &c. Virgil*, who lived but a little after the Ruin of the *Roman Republick*, where Seditions often happened, and the Force of Oratory

was great among the People, made use of a *Simile*, which Mr. *Steele* turns into a *Fact*, after such a Manner, as if he had seen it an hundred Times; and builds upon it a System of the Origin of Government. When the Vulgar here in *England* assemble in a riotous Manner (which is not very frequent of late Years) the Prince takes a much more effectual Way than that of sending Orators to appease them: But Mr. *Steele* imagines such a Crowd of People as this, where there is no Government at all; their *Unruliness* quelled, and their Passions cooled by a particular Man, whose great Qualities they had known before. Such an Assembly must have risen suddenly from the Earth, and the *Man of Authority* dropt from the Clouds; for without some previous Form of Government, no such Crowd did ever yet assemble, or could possibly be acquainted with the Merits and Dignity of any particular Man among them. But, to pursue his Scheme. This Man of Authority, who cools the Crowd by Degrees, and to whom they all Appeal, must of Necessity prove either an open or *clandestine Tyrant*: A *clandestine Tyrant* I take to be a King of *Brentford*, who keeps his Army in Disguise; and whenever he happens either to die naturally, be knockt on the Head, or deposed, the People calmly take further Measures, and improve upon what was begun under his unlimited Power. All this, our Author tells us, with extreme Propriety, is what seems reasonable to common Sense; that is, in other Words, it seems reasonable to Reason. This is what he calls giving an Idea of the Original of Power, and the Nature of Civil Institutions. To which I answer with great Phlegm, that I defy any Man alive to shew me in double the Number of Lines, although writ by the same Author, such a complicated Ignorance in History, human

human Nature, or Politicks, as well as in the ordinary Proprieties of Thought or of Style.

BUT, it seems, these profound Speculations were only premised to introduce some Quotations in Favour of *Resistance*. What hath *Resistance* to do with the Succession of the House of *Hanover*, that the Whig Writers should perpetually affect to tag them together? I can conceive nothing else, but that their Hatred to the QUEEN and Ministry, puts them upon Thoughts of introducing the Successor by *another* Revolution. Are Cases of *extreme Necessity* to be produced as common Maxims by which we are always to proceed? Should not these Gentlemen sometimes inculcate the general Rule of Obedience, and not always the Exception of Resistance? since the former hath been the perpetual Dictates of all Laws both Divine and Civil, and the latter is still in Dispute.

I SHALL meddle with none of the Passages he cites, to prove the Lawfulness of resisting Princes, except that from the present Lord Chancellor's Speech, in Defence of Dr. *Sacheverell*: That *there are extraordinary Cases, Cases of Necessity, which are implied although not expressed in the general Rule* [of Obedience.] These Words, very clear in themselves, Mr. *Steele* explains into Nonsense; which in any other Author I should suspect to have been intended as a Reflection upon as great a Person as ever filled or adorned that high Station: But I am so well acquainted with his Pen, that I much more wonder how it can trace out a true Quotation than a false Comment. To see him treat my Lord *Harcourt* with so much Civility looks indeed a little suspicious, and, as if he had Malice in his Heart. He calls his Lordship, *a very great Man*, and *a great living Authority*, places him in Company with
General

General Stanhope and Mr. Hoadley; and in short, takes the most effectual Method in his Power of ruining his Lordship in the Opinion of every Man who is wise or good: I can only tell my Lord *Harcourt*, for his Comfort, that these Praises are encumbered with the Doctrine of *Resistance*, and the true Revolution-Principles; and provided he will not allow Mr. *Steele* for his Commentator, he may hope to recover the Honour of being libelled again, as well as his Sovereign and Fellow Servants.

WE now come to the *Crisis*: Where we meet with two Pages by Way of Introduction to those Extracts from Acts of Parliament that constitute the Body of his Pamphlet. This Introduction begins with a Definition of Liberty, and then proceeds in a Panegyrick upon that great Blessing; his Panegyrick is made up of half a dozen Shreds, like a School-Boy's Theme, beaten, general Topicks, where any other Man alive might wander securely; but this Politician, by venturing to vary the good old Phrases, and give them a new Turn, commits an hundred Solecisms and Absurdities. The weighty Truths which he endeavours to press upon his Reader are such as these. That, *Liberty is a very good Thing*; that, *without Liberty we cannot be free*; that, *Health is good, and Strength is good, but Liberty is better than either*; that, *no Man can be happy, without the Liberty of doing whatever his own Mind tells him is best*; that, *Men of Quality love Liberty, and common People love Liberty*; even Women and Children love Liberty; and you cannot please them better than by letting them do what they please. Had Mr. *Steele* contented himself to deliver these and the like Maxims in such intelligible Terms, I could have found where we agreed and where

where we differed. But, let us hear some of these Axioms as he hath involved them. *We cannot possess our Souls with Pleasure and Satisfaction, except we preserve to ourselves that inestimable Blessing which we call Liberty: By Liberty, I desire to be understood, to mean the Happiness of Men's living; &c.-----The true Life of Man consists in conducting it according to his own just Sentiments and innocent Inclinations.-----Man's Being is degraded below that of a free Agent, when his Affections and Passions are no longer governed by the Dictates of his own Mind.-----Without Liberty, our Health (among other Things) may be at the Will of a Tyrant, employed to our own Ruin and that of our Fellow Creatures. If there be any of these Maxims, which is not grossly defective in Truth, in Sense, or in Grammar, I will allow them to pass for uncontrollable. By the first, omitting the Pedantry of the whole Expression, there are not above one or two Nations in the World, where any one Man can possess his Soul with Pleasure and Satisfaction. In the second, He desires to be understood to mean; that is, he desires to be meant to mean, or to be understood to understand. In the third, *The Life of Man consists in conducting his Life.* In the fourth, he affirms, *That Men's Beings are degraded, when their Passions are no longer governed by the Dictates of their own Mind;* directly contrary to the Lessons of all Moralists and Legislators; who agree unanimously, that the Passions of Men must be under the Government of Reason and Law; neither are Laws of any other Use than to correct the Irregularity of our Affections. By the last, *Our Health is ruinous to ourselves and other Men, when a Tyrant pleases;* which I leave him to make out.*

I CANNOT sufficiently commend our Ancestors for transmitting to us the Blessing of Liberty; yet

having laid out their Blood and Treasure upon the Purchase, I do not see how they acted Parsimoniously; because I can conceive nothing more generous than that of employing our Blood and Treasure for the Service of others. But I am suddenly struck with the Thought, that I have found his Meaning: Our Ancestors acted Parsimoniously, because they only spent their own Treasure for the Good of their Posterity; whereas, we squandered away the Treasures of our Posterity too; but whether they will be thankful, and think it was done for the Preservation of their Liberty, must be left to themselves for a Decision.

I VERILY believe, although I could not prove it in *Westminster Hall* before a *Lord Chief Justice*, that by *Enemies to our Constitution*, and *Enemies to our present Establishment*, *Mr. Steele* would desire to be understood to mean, My Lord Treasurer, and the rest of the Ministry; By those who are grown *Supine in Proportion to the Danger to which our Liberty is every Day more exposed*, I should guess, he means the Tories: And, by *honest Men who ought to look up with a Spirit that becomes honesty*, he understands the Whigs. I likewise believe, he would take it ill, or think me stupid, If I did not thus expound him. I say then, that according to this Exposition, the four great Officers of State, together with the rest of the Cabinet-Council (except the Archbishop of Canterbury) are *Enemies to our Establishment*, making artful and open Attacks upon our Constitution, and are now practising indirect Arts, and mean Subtilties, to weaken the Security of those Acts of Parliament for settling the Succession in the House of *Hanover*. The first, and most notorious of these Criminals is, *Robert Harley*, Earl of *Oxford*, Lord High Treasurer, who is reputed to be
Chief

Chief Minister : The second is, *James Butler*, Duke of *Ormonde*, who commands the Army, and designs to employ it in bringing over the *Pretender* : The third is, *Henry St. John*, Lord Viscount *Bolingbroke*, Secretary of State, who must be supposed to hold a constant Correspondence with the Court at *Bar le Duc*, as the late Earl of *Godolphin* did with that of *St. Germain*s : And to avoid Tedioufness, Mr. *Bromley* and the rest are employed in their several Districts to the same End. These are the Opinions which Mr. *Steele* and his Faction, under the Direction of their Leaders, are endeavouring with all their Might to propagate among the People of *England*, concerning the present Ministry ; with what Reservation to the Honour, Wisdom, or Justice of the QUEEN, I cannot determine ; who by her own free Choice, after long Experience of their Abilities and Integrity, and in Compliance to the general Wishes of her People, called them to her Service. Such an Accusation, against Persons in so high Trust, should require, I think at least, one single Overt-Act to make it good. If there be no other Choice of Persons fit to serve the Crown without Danger from the *Pretender*, except among those who are called the Whig Party, the *Hanover* Succession is then indeed in a very desperate State ; that illustrious Family will have almost nine in ten of the Kingdom against it, and those principally of the Landed Interest, which is most to be depended upon in such a Nation as ours.

I HAVE now got as far as his Extracts, which I shall not be at the Pains of comparing with the Originals, but suppose he hath got them fairly transcribed : I only think, that whoever is Patentee for printing Acts of Parliament, may have a very fair
Action

Action against him, for Invasion of Property : But this is none of my Business to enquire into.

AFTER two and twenty Pages spent in reciting Acts of Parliament, *he desires Leave to repeat the History and Progress of the Union* ; upon which I have some few things to observe.

This Work, he tells us, *was unsuccessfully attempted by several of Her Majesty's Predecessors* ; although I* do not remember it was ever thought on by any except King *James* the First, and the late King *William*. I have read indeed, that some small Overtures were made by the former of these Princes towards an Union between the two Kingdoms, but rejected with Indignation and Contempt by the *English* : And the Historian tells us, that how degenerate and corrupt soever the Court and Parliament then were, they would not give Ear to so infamous a Proposal. I do not find that any of the succeeding Princes before the Revolution ever resumed the Design ; because it was a Project, for which there could not possibly be assigned the least Reason or Necessity : For I defy any Mortal to name one single Advantage that *England* could ever expect from such an Union.

But towards the End of the late King's Reign, upon Apprehension of the Want of Issue from him or the Princess *Anne*, a Proposition for uniting both Kingdoms was begun, because *Scotland* had not settled their Crown upon the House of *Hanover*, but left themselves at large, in hopes to make their Advantage : And, it was thought highly dangerous to leave that Part of the Island inhabited by a poor, fierce Northern People, at Liberty to put themselves under a different King. However, the

* *The Author's Memory failed him a little in this Assertion, as one of his Answerers observed.*

Opposition to this Work was so great, that it could not be overcome until some Time after her present Majesty came to the Crown; when by the Weakness or Corruption of a certain Minister since dead, an Act of Parliament was obtained for the *Scots*, which gave them leave to arm themselves; and so the Union became necessary, not for any actual Good it could possibly do us, but to avoid a probable Evil; and, at the same time, save an obnoxious Minister's Head, who was so wise, as to take the first Opportunity of procuring a general Pardon by Act of Parliament, because he could not with so much Decency or Safety desire a particular one for himself. These Facts are well enough known to the whole Kingdom: And, I remember, discoursing above six Years ago with the most considerable * Person of the adverse Party, and a great Promoter of the Union, he frankly owned to me, That this Necessity, brought upon us by the wrong Management of the Earl of *Godolphin*, was the only Cause of the Union.

THEREFORE I am ready to grant two Points to the Author of the *Crisis*: First, that the Union became necessary for the Cause above related; because it prevented this Island from being governed by two Kings, which *England* would never have suffered; and it might probably have cost us a War of a Year or two to reduce the *Scots*. Secondly, that it would be dangerous to break this Union, at least in this Juncture, while there is a *Pretender* abroad, who might probably lay hold of such an Opportunity. And this made me wonder a little at the Spirit of Faction last Summer among some People, who having been the great Promoters of the Union, and several of them the principal Gainers by it,

* Lord SOMERS,

could

could yet proceed so far, as to propose in the House of Lords, that it should be dissolved; while at the same time, those Peers who had ever opposed it in the Beginning, were then for preserving it upon the Reason I have just assigned, and which the Author of the *Crisis* hath likewise taken Notice of.

BUT, when he tells us, *The Englishmen ought in Generosity to be more particularly careful in preserving this Union*; he argues like himself. *The late Kingdom of Scotland* (saith he) *had as numerous a Nobility as England, &c.* They had indeed; and to that we owe one of the great and necessary Evils of the Union upon the Foot it now stands. Their Nobility is indeed so numerous, that the whole Revenues of their Country would be hardly able to maintain them according to the Dignity of their Titles; and what is infinitely worse, they are never likely to be extinct until the last Period of all Things; because the greatest Part of them descend to Heirs general. I imagine, a Person of Quality prevailed on to marry a Woman much his inferior, and without a Groat to her Fortune, and her Friends arguing, she was as good as her Husband, because she brought him as numerous a Family of Relations and Servants, as she found in his House. *Scotland* in the Taxes is obliged to contribute one Penny for every forty Pence laid upon *England*; and the Representatives they send to Parliament are about a thirteenth: Every other *Scottish* Peer hath all the Privileges of an *English* one, except that of sitting in Parliament, and even Precedence before all of the same Title that shall be created for the Time to come. The Pensions and Employments possessed by the Natives of that Country now among us, do amount to more than the whole Body

dy of their Nobility ever spent at home; and all the Money they raise upon the Publick, is hardly sufficient to defray their Civil and Military Lists. I could point out some with great Titles, who affected to appear very vigorous for dissolving the Union, although their whole Revenues before that Period would have ill maintained a *Welch* Justice of the Peace; and have since gathered more Money than ever any *Scotchman*, who had not travelled, could form an Idea of.

I HAVE only one thing more to say upon Occasion of the Union Act; which is, that the Author of the *Crisis* may be fairly proved from his own Citations to be guilty of HIGH TREASON. In a Paper of his called the *Englishman*, of October 29. there is an Advertisement about taking in Subscriptions for printing the *Crisis*, where the Title is published at length, with the following Clause, which the Author thought fit to drop in the Publication; [*And that no Power on Earth can bar, alter, or make void the present Settlement of the Crown, &c. By Richard Steele.*] In his Extract of an Act of Parliament made since the Union, it appears to be *High Treason for any Person, by Writing or Printing, to maintain and affirm, that the Kings or Queens of this Realm, with and by the Authority of Parliament, are not able to make Laws and Statutes of sufficient Force and Validity to limit and bind the Crown, and the Descend, Limitation, Inheritance, and Government thereof.* This Act being subsequent to the Settlement of the Crown confirmed at the Union; it is probable, some Friend of the Author advised him to leave out those *treasonable* Words in the printed Title Page, which he had before published in the *Advertisement*; and accordingly we find, that in the Treatise itself, he only offers it to every good Subject's Consideration,

ration, whether this Article of the Settlement of the Crown is not as firm as the Union itself, and as the Settlement of Episcopacy in England, &c. And he thinks the Scots understood it so, that the Succession to the Crown was never to be controverted.

THESE I take to be only *treasonable* Insinuations, but the Advertisement above-mentioned is actually *High Treason*, for which the Author ought to be prosecuted, if that would avail any thing, under a Jurisdiction where cursing the QUEEN is not above the Penalty of twenty Marks.

NOTHING is more notorious, than that the Whigs of late Years, both in their Writings and Discourses, have affected upon all Occasions to allow the Legitimacy of the *Pretender*: This makes me a little wonder to see our Author labouring to prove the contrary, by producing all the popular Chat of those Times, and other solid Arguments from *Fuller's Narrative*: But, it must be supposed, that this Gentleman acts by the Commands of his Superiors, who have thought fit at this Juncture to issue out new Orders for Reasons best known to themselves. I wish they had been more clear in their Directions to him upon that weighty Point, whether the Settlement of the Succession in the House of *Hanover* be alterable or no. I have observed where in his former Pages he gives it in the Negative; but in the turning of a Leaf he hath wholly changed his Mind; He tells us, *He wonders there can be found any Briton weak enough to contend against a Power in their own Nation which is praised in a much greater Degree in other States: And how hard it is, that Britain should be debarred the Privilege of establishing its own Security, by relinquishing only those Branches of the Royal Line which threaten it with Destruction; whilst other Nations never scruple upon*

upon less Occasions to go much greater Lengths; at which he produceth Instances in France, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia; and then adds, Can Great Britain help to advance Men to other Thrones, and have no Power in limiting its own? How can a Senator, capable of doing Honour to Sir Thomas Hanmer, be guilty of such ridiculous Inconsistencies? The Author of the *Conduct of the Allies* (says he) hath dared to drop Insinuations about altering the Succession. The Author of the *Conduct of the Allies* writes Sense and English, neither of which the Author of the *Crisis* understands: The former thinks it wrong in Point of Policy to call in a Foreign Power to be Guarantee of our Succession, because it puts it out of the Power of our own Legislature to change our Succession without the Consent of that Prince or State who is Guaranty, whatever Necessity may happen in future Times. Now, if it be High Treason to affirm by Writing that the Legislature had no such Power; and if Mr. Steele thinks it strange that Britain should be debarred this Priviledge; what could be the Crime of putting such a Case, that in future Ages, a Necessity might happen of limiting the Succession, as well as it hath happened already?

WHEN Mr. Steele reflects upon the many solemn strong Barriers (to our Succession) of Laws and Oaths, &c. he thinks all Fear vanished before them. I think so too; provided the Epithet solemn goes for nothing: Because, although I have often heard of a solemn Day, a solemn Feast, and a solemn Coxcomb, yet I can conceive no Idea to myself of a solemn Barrier. However, be that as it will; his Thoughts, it seems, will not let him rest, but before he is aware, he asks himself several Questions: And since he cannot resolve them, I will endeavour to give him what Satisfaction I am able. The first is,
What

What are the Marks of a lasting Security? To which I answer, that the Sign of it in a Kingdom or State are, first, good Laws; and secondly those Laws well executed: We are pretty well provided with the former, but extremely defective in the latter. Secondly, *What are our Tempers and our Hearts at Home?* If by *ours* he means those of himself and his Abettors, they are most damnable wicked; impatient for the Death of the QUEEN; ready to gratify their Ambition and Revenge by all desperate Methods; wholly alienate from Truth, Law, Religion, Mercy, Conscience, or Honour. Thirdly, *In what Hands is Power lodged Abroad?* To answer the Question naturally, Louis XIV. is King of France, Philip V. (by the Councils and Acknowledgements of the Whigs) is King of Spain, and so on. If by Power he means Money; the Duke of Marlborough is thought to have more ready Money than all the Kings of Christendom together; but, by the peculiar Disposition of Providence, it is locked up in a Trunk, to which his Ambition hath no Key; and that is our Security. Fourthly, *Are our unnatural Divisions our Strength?* I think not; but they are the Sign of it; for, being *unnatural*, they cannot last; and this shews, that Union, the Foundation of all *Strength*, is more agreeable to our Nature. Fifthly, *Is it nothing to us, which of the Princes of Europe has the longest Sword?* Not much, if we can tie up his Hands, or put a strong Shield into those of his Neighbours: Or, if our Sword be as Sharp, as his is Long: Or if it be necessary for him to turn his own Sword into a Plowshare: Or, if such a Sword happeneth to be in the Hands of an Infant, or struggled for by two Competitors. Sixthly, *The powerful Hand that deals out Crowns and Kingdoms all around us, may it not in*
Time

Time reach a King out to us too? If the *powerful Hand* he means, be that of *France*, it may *reach out* as many Kings as it pleaseth, but we will not accept them. Whence does this Man get his Intelligence? I should think, even his Brother *Ridpath* might furnish him with better. What *Crowns* or *Kingdoms* hath *France* dealt about? *Spain* was given by the Will of the former King, in Consequence of that infamous Treaty of *Partition*, the Adviser of which will, I hope, never be forgot in *England*. *Sicily* was disposed of by Her Majesty of *Great Britain*. So in Effect was *Sardinia*. *France* indeed once *reached out* a King to *Poland*, but the People would not receive him. This Question of Mr. *Steele's* was therefore only put *in terrorem*, without any Regard to Truth. Seventhly, *Are there no Pretensions to our Crown that can ever be revived?* There may for ought I know, be about a Dozen: And those in Time may possibly beget a Hundred. But we must do as well as we can. Captain *Bessus*, when he had fifty Challenges to answer, protested he could not fight above three Duels a Day. If the Pretender should fail (says the Writer) the French King has in his Quiver a Succession of them, the Duchess of *Savoy*, or her Sons, or the Dauphin her Grandson. Let me suppose the Chevalier de *St. George* to be dead; the Duchess of *Savoy* will then be a Pretender, and consequently must leave her Husband, because his Royal Highness (for Mr. *Steele* has not yet acknowledged him for a King) is in Alliance with Her *British* Majesty: Her Sons, when they grow Pretenders, must undergo the same Fate. But I am at a Loss how to dispose of the Dauphin, if he happen to be King of *France* before the Pretendership to *Britain* falls to his Share; for I doubt he will never be persuaded to remove, out

of his own Kingdom, only because it is too near *England*.

BUT the Duke of Savoy did some Years ago put in his Claim to the Crown of England in Right of his Wife; and he is a Prince of great Capacity; in strict Alliance with France, and may therefore very well add to our Fears of a *Popish* Successor. Is it the Fault of the present, or of any Ministry, that this Prince put in his Claim? Must we give him Opium to destroy his Capacity? Or can we prevent his Alliance with any Prince who is in Peace with Her Majesty? Must we send to stab or poison all the *Popish* Princes who have any pretended Title to our Crown by the Proximity of Blood? What, in the Name of God, can these People drive at? What is it they demand? Suppose the present *Dauphin* were now a Man, and King of France, and next *Popish* Heir to the Crown of *England*; is he not excluded by the Laws of the Land? But what Regard will he have to our Laws? I answer; hath not the QUEEN as good a Title to the Crown of France? And how is she excluded, but by their Law against the Succession of Females, which we are not bound to acknowledge? And is it not in our Power to exclude Female Successors as well as in theirs? If such a Pretence shall prove the Cause of a War, what human Power can prevent it? But our Cause must necessarily be good and righteous; for either the Kings of *England* have been unjustly kept out of the Possession of France, or the *Dauphin*, although nearest of Kin, can have no legal Title to *England*. And he must be an ill Prince indeed, who will not have the Hearts and Hands of ninety nine in a Hundred among his Subjects against such a *Popish* Pretender.

I HAVE

I HAVE been the longer in answering the seventh Question, because it led me to consider all he had afterwards to say upon the Subject of the *Pretender*. Eighthly and Lastly, he asks himself *whether Popery and Ambition are become tame and quiet Neighbours?* In this I can give him no Satisfaction, because I never was in that Street where they live; nor do I converse with any of their Friends; only I find they are Persons of a very evil Reputation. But I am told for certain, that *Ambition* hath removed her Lodging, and lives the very next Door to *Faction*; where, they keep such a Racket, that the whole Parish is disturbed, and every Night in an Uproar.

THUS much in Answer to those eight *uneasy Questions*, put by the Author to himself, in order to *satisfy every Briton*, and give him an Occasion of *taking an impartial View of the Affairs of Europe in general, as well as of Great Britain in particular*.

AFTER enumerating the great Actions of the *Confederate Armies* under the Command of Prince *Eugene*, and the Duke of *Marlborough*, Mr. *Steele* observes in the Bitterness of his Soul, that the *British General*, *however unaccountable it may be to Posterity, was not permitted to enjoy the Fruits of his glorious Labour*. Ten Years *Fruits* it seems were not sufficient, and yet they were the *fruitfulest Campaigns* that ever any General cropt. However, I cannot but hope, that *Posterity* will not be left in the dark, but some Care taken both of Her Majesty's Glory, and the Reputation of those she employs. An impartial Historian may tell the World (and the next Age will easily believe what it continues to feel) that the Avarice and Ambition of a few factious insolent Subjects, had almost destroyed their Country, by continuing a ruinous

War, in Conjunction with Allies, for whose Sakes principally we fought, who refused to bear their just Proportion of the Charge, and were connived at in their Refusal for private Ends. That, these factious People treated the best and kindest of Sovereigns with Insolence, Cruelty and Ingratitude (of which he will be able to produce several Instances.) That, they encouraged Persons and Principles alien from our Religion and Government, in order to strengthen their Faction. He will tell the Reasons why the *General* and *first Minister* were seduced to be Heads of this Faction, contrary to the Opinions they had always professed. Such an Historian will shew many Reasons which made it necessary to remove the *General* and his Friends, who knowing the Bent of the Nation were against them, expected to lose their Power when the War was at an End. Particularly, the Historian will discover the whole Intrigue of the Duke of *Marlborough's* endeavouring to procure a Commission to be *General for Life*; wherein Justice will be done to a Person at that Time of high Station in the Law; who (I mention it to his Honour) advised the Duke, when he was consulted upon it, not to accept of such a *Commission*. By these, and many other Instances which Time will bring to Light, it may perhaps appear not very unaccountable to Posterity, why this great Man was dismissed at last; but rather why he was dismissed no sooner.

BUT this is entering into a wide Field. I shall therefore leave *Posterity* to the Information of better Historians than the Author of the *Crisis*, or myself; and go on to inform the present Age in some Facts, which this great Orator and Politician thinks fit to misrepresent with the utmost Degree either of natural or wilful Ignorance. He asserts, that in
the

the Duke of Ormonde's Campaign, after a Suspension of Arms between Great Britain and France, proclaimed at the Head of the Armies, the British in the midst of the Enemies Garrisons, withdrew themselves from their Confederates. The Fact is directly otherwise; for the *British* Troops were most infamously deserted by the Confederates, after all that could be urged by the Duke of Ormonde, and the Earl of *Stratford*, to press the Confederate Generals not to forsake them. The Duke was directed to avoid engaging in any Action until he had further Orders, because an Account of the King of *Spain's* Renunciation was every Day expected: This the *Imperialists* and *Dutch* knew well enough, and therefore proposed to the Duke in that very Juncture to engage the *French*, for no other Reason but to render desperate all the *QUEEN's* Measures towards a Peace. Was not the certain Possession of *Dunkirk* of equal Advantage to the uncertainty of a Battle? A whole Campaign under the Duke of *Marlborough*, with such an Acquisition, although at the Cost of many thousand Lives, and several Millions of Money, would have been thought very gloriously Ended. Neither after all, was it a new Thing, either in the *British* General, or the *Dutch* Deputies, to refuse fighting, when they did not approve it. When the Duke of *Marlborough* was going to invest *Bouchain*, the Deputies of the *States* pressed him in vain to engage the Enemy; and one of them was so far discontented upon his Grace's Refusal, that he presently became a Partizan of the Peace; yet, I do not remember any Clamour then raised here against the Duke upon that Account. Again, when the *French* invaded *Doway*, after the Confederates had deserted the Duke of Ormonde, Prince *Eugene* was violently bent upon a Battle, and

said they should never have another so good an Opportunity: But Monsieur ———, a private Deputy, rose up, and opposed it so far, that the Prince was forced to desist. Was it then more Criminal in the Duke of *Ormonde* to refuse fighting, by express Commands of the QUEEN, and in order to get Possession of *Dunkirk*, than for the Duke of *Marlborough* to give the same Refusal, without any such Orders, or any such Advantage? Or, shall a *Dutch* Deputy assume more Power than the QUEEN of *Great Britain's* General, acting by the immediate Commands of his Sovereign?

THE *Emperor and the Empire* (says Mr. Steele, by Way of Admiration) *continue the War!* Is his *Imperial* Majesty able to continue it or no? If he be, then *Great Britain* hath been strangely used for ten Years past: Then how came it to pass, That of above thirty thousand Men in his Service in *Italy*, at the Time of the Battle of *Turin*, there were not above four thousand paid by himself? If he be not able to continue it, Why does he go on? The Reasons are clear; because the War only affects the Princes of the Empire (whom he is willing enough to expose) but not his own Dominions. Besides, the *Imperial* Ministers are in daily Expectation of the QUEEN's Death, which they hope will give a new Turn to Affairs, and rekindle the War in *Europe* upon the old Foot; and we know how the Ministers of that Court publicly Assign it for a Reason of their Obstinacy against Peace, that they hope for a sudden Revolution in *England*. In the mean Time, this Appearance of the *Emperor* being forsaken by his Ally, will serve to increase the Clamour both here and in *Holland*, against her Majesty, and those she employs.

MR,

MR. Steele says, *There can be no Crime in affirming (if it be Truth) that the House of Bourbon is at this Juncture become more formidable, and bids fairer for an Universal Monarchy, and to engross the whole Trade of Europe, than it did before the War.*

No Crime in affirming it if it be Truth. I will for once allow his Proposition. But if it be false, then I affirm, that whoever advanceth so seditious a Falshood, deserveth to be hanged. Doth he mean by the House of *Bourbon*, the two Kings of *France* and *Spain*? If so, I reject his Meaning, which would insinuate that the Interests and Designs of both those Princes will be the same; whereas they are more opposite than those of any two other Monarchs in *Christendom*. This is the old foolish Slander so frequently flung upon the Peace, and as frequently refuted. These factious Undertakers of the Press write with great Advantage; they strenuously affirm a thousand Falshoods, without Fear, Wit, Conscience, or Knowledge; and we, who answer them, must be at the Expence of an Argument for each: After which, in the very next Pamphlet, we see the same Assertions produced again, without the least Notice of what hath been said to disprove them. By the House of *Bourbon*, doth he mean only the *French* King for the Time being? If so, and his Assertion be true, then that Prince must either deal with the Devil; or else the Money and Blood spent in our ten Years Victories against him, might as well have continued in the Purse and Veins of Her Majesty's Subjects.

BUT the particular Assertions of this Author are easier detected than his general ones; I shall therefore proceed upon examining the Former. For Instance; I desire him to ask the *Dutch*, who can best inform him, *Why they delivered up Traerback*

to the Imperialists? For, as to the QUEEN, Her Majesty was never once consulted in it; whatever his Preceptors, the Politicians of *Button's Coffee-House* may have informed him to the contrary.

MR. Steele affirms, that *the French have begun the Demolition of Dunkirk Contemptuously and Arbitrarily their own Way*. The Governor of the Town, and those Gentlemen intrusted with the Inspection of this Work, do assure me, that the Fact is altogether otherwise: That, the Method prescribed by those whom Her Majesty employs, hath been exactly followed, and that the Works are already demolished. I will venture to tell him further, That the Demolition was so long deferred, in order to remove those Difficulties which the *Barrier Treaty* hath put us under; and the Event hath shewn, that it was prudent to proceed no faster until those Difficulties were got over. The *Mole and Harbour* could not be destroyed until the Ships were got out, which by Reason of some profound Secrets of State, did not happen until the other Day. Who gave him those just Suspicions that the *Mole and Harbour will never be destroyed*? What is it that he would now insinuate? That the Ministry is bribed to leave the most important Part of the Work undone; or, that the *Pretender* is to invade us from thence; or, that the QUEEN hath entered into a Conspiracy with her Servants to prevent the good Effects of the Peace, for no other End but to lose the Affections of Her People, and endanger Herself.

INSTEAD of any further Information, which I could easily give, but which no honest Man can want; I venture to affirm, that the *Mole and Harbour of Dunkirk* will in a short Time be most effectually destroyed; and at the same Time, I venture

ture to Prophecy, that neither Mr. *Steele*, nor his Faction, will ever confess they believe it.

AFTER all, it is a little hard, that the QUEEN cannot be allowed to demolish this Town in whatever Manner she pleaseth to fancy. Mr. *Steele*, must have it done his own Way, and is angry the *French* have pretended to do it theirs; and yet he wrongs them into the Bargain. For my own Part, I do seriously think, the most *Christian* King to be a much better Friend of Her Majesty's than Mr. *Steele*, or any of his Faction. Besides, it is to be considered, that he is a Monarch and a Relation; and therefore, if I were a Privy Counsellor, and my Advice to be asked, which of those two * GENTLEMEN BORN should have the Direction in the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, I would give it for the former; because I look upon Mr. *Steele*, in Quality of a Member of his Party, to be much more skilful in demolishing at Home than Abroad.

THERE is a Prospect of more Danger to the Balance of *Europe*, and to the Trade of *Britain*, from the Emperor over-running *Italy*, than from *France* over-running the *Empire*; that his Imperial Majesty entertains such Thoughts, is visible to the World: And, although little can be said to justify many Actions of the *French* King, yet the worst of them have never equaled the Emperor's Arbitrary keeping the Possession of *Milan*, directly contrary to his Oath, and to the express Words of the *Golden Bull*; which oblige him to deliver up every *Fief* that falls; or else they must all in the Course of Time lapse into his own Hands.

I WAS at a Loss who it was that Mr. *Steele* hinted at some Time ago by the powerful Hands, that deals out Crowns and Kingdoms all around us: I now plainly find, he meant no other Hand but his own.

* Mr. STEELE often files himself so.

He

He hath dealt out the Crown of *Spain* to *France*; to *France* he hath given Leave to invade the *Empire* next Spring with two hundred thousand Men; and, now at last he deals to *France* the *Imperial* Dignity; and so farewell *Liberty*; *Europe* will be French. But in order to bring all this about, the *Capital* of *Austria*, the *Residence* of his *Imperial* Majesty, must continue to be visited by the *Plague*, of which the *Emperor* must die, and so the Thing is done.

WHY should not I venture to deal out one *Sceptre* in my Turn as well as Mr. *Steele*? I therefore deal out the *Empire* to the *Elect*or of *Saxony*, upon Failure of Issue to this *Emperor* at his Death; provided the Whigs will prevail on the Son to turn *Papist* to get an *Empire*, as they did upon the Father to get a *Kingdom*. Or, if this Prince be not approved of, I deal out in his stead, the *Elect*or of *Bavaria*: And, in one or the other of these, I dare engage to have all *Christendom* to second me, whatever the Spleen, in the Shape of Politicks, may dictate to the Author of the *Crisis*.

THE Design of Mr. *Steele*, in representing the Circumstances of the Affairs of *Europe*, is to signify to the World, that all *Europe* is put in the high Road to Slavery by the Corruption of Her Majesty's present Ministers; and so he goes on to *Portugal*; which having, during the War, supplied us with Gold in exchange for our Woollen Manufacture, hath only at present a Suspension of Arms for its Protection, to last no longer than until the *Catalonians* are reduced; and then the old Pretensions of *Spain* to *Portugal* will be revived: And *Portugal*, when once enslaved by *Spain*, falls naturally with the rest of *Europe* into the Gulph of *France*. In the mean Time, let us see what Relief a little Truth can give this unhappy Kingdom.

Kingdom. That *Portugal* hath yet no more than a Suspension of Arms, they may thank themselves, because they came so late into the Treaty; and, that they came so late, they may thank the Whigs, whose false Representations they were so weak to believe. However, the QUEEN hath voluntarily given them a Guarantee to defend them against *Spain* until the Peace shall be made; and such Terms after the Peace, are stipulated for them, as the *Portuguese* themselves are contented with.

HAVING mentioned the *Catalonians*, he puts the Question, *Who can name the Catalonians without a Tear?* That can I; for he hath told so many melancholy Stories without one Syllable of Truth, that 'he hath blunted the Edge of my Fears, and I shall not be startled at the worst he can say. What he affirms concerning the *Catalonians* is included in the following Particulars: First, *That they were drawn into the War by the Encouragement of the Maritime Powers*; by which are understood *England* and *Holland*: But, he is too good a Friend of the *Dutch*, to give them any Part of the Blame. Secondly, *That, they are now abandoned and exposed to the Resentment of an enraged Prince.* Thirdly, *That, they always opposed the Person and Interest of that Prince*, who is their present King. Lastly, *That, the Doom is dreadful of those, who shall in the Sight of God be esteemed their Destroyers.* And, if we interpret the Insinuation he makes, according to his own Mind, the Destruction of those People, must be imputed to the present Ministry.

I AM sometimes in Charity disposed to hope, that this Writer is not always sensible of the flagrant Falshoods he utters, but is either biassed by an Inclination to believe the worst, or a Want of Judgment to chuse his Informers. That the *Catalonians*
were

were drawn into the War by the Encouragement of Her Majesty, should not in Decency have been affirmed until about fifty Years hence ; when it might be supposed there would be no living Witness left to disprove it. It was only upon the Assurances of a Revolt, given by the Prince of *Hesse* and others, and their Invitation, that the QUEEN was prevailed with to send her Forces upon that Expedition. When *Barcelona* was taken by a most unexpected Accident, of a Bomb lighting on the Magazine, then indeed the *Catalonians* revolted, having before submitted and sworn Allegiance to *Philip*, as much as any other Province of *Spain*. Upon the Peace between that Crown and *Britain*, the QUEEN, in order to ease the *Emperor*, and save his Troops, stipulated with King *Philip* for a Neutrality in *Italy*, and that his Imperial Majesty should have Liberty to evacuate *Catalonia* ; upon Conditions of absolute Indemnity to the *Catalans*, with an entire Restitution to their Honours, Dignities, and Estates. As this Neutrality was never observed by the *Emperor*, so he never effectually evacuated *Catalonia* ; for although he sent away the main Body, he left behind many Officers and private Men, who now spirit up and assist those obstinate People to continue in their Rebellion. It is true indeed, that King *Philip* did not absolutely restore the *Catalans* to all their old Privileges, of which they never made other Use than as an Encouragement to rebel ; but, to the same Privileges with his Subjects of *Castille*, particularly to the Liberty of Trading, and having Employments in the *West Indies*, which they never enjoyed before. Besides, the QUEEN reserved to herself the Power of procuring farther Immunities for them, wherein the most *Christian* King was obliged to second her :

For,

For, his *Catbolick* Majesty intended no more, than to retrench those Privileges under the Pretext of which they now rebel, as they had formerly done in favour of *France*. *How dreadful then must the Doom be of those*, who hindered these People from submitting to the gentle Terms offered them by their Prince! And who, although they be conscious of their own Inability to furnish one single Ship for the Support of the *Catalans*, are at this Instant spurring them on to their Ruin, by Promises of Aid and Protection.

THUS much in Answer to Mr. Steele's Account of the Affairs of *Europe*; from which he deduceth the Universal Monarchy of *France*, and the Danger of I know not how many *Popish Successors* to *Britain*. His political Reflections are as good as his Facts. *We must observe*, says he, *that the Person who seems to be the most favoured by the French King in the late Treaties, is the Duke of Savoy*. Extremely right: For, whatever that Prince got by the Peace, he owes entirely to Her Majesty, as a just Reward for his having been so firm and useful an Ally; neither was *France* brought with more Difficulty to yield any one Point, than that of allowing the Duke such a Barrier as the QUEEN insisted on.

HE *is become the most powerful Prince in Italy*. I had rather see him so, than the Emperor. He is supposed to have entered into a secret and strict Alliance with the House of Bourbon. This is one of those Facts wherein I am most inclined to believe the Author, because it is what he must needs be utterly ignorant of, and therefore might possibly be true.

I THOUGHT indeed we should be safe from all *Popish Successors* as far as *Italy*, because of the prodigious Clutter about sending the Pretender thither.

But

But they will never agree where to fix their *Longitude*. The Duke of Savoy is the more dangerous for removing to Sicily: He adds to our Fears for being too near. So, whether France conquer Germany, or be in Peace and good Understanding with it; either Event will put us and Holland at Mercy of France, which hath a Quiver full of Pretenders at its back, whenever the Chevalier shall die.

THIS was just the Logick of poor Prince Butler, a splenetick mad Man, whom every Body may remember about the Town. Prince Pamphilio in Italy employed Emissaries to torment Prince Butler here. But what if Prince Pamphilio die? Why then, he hath left in his Will, that his Heirs and Executors torment Prince Butler for ever.

I CANNOT think it a Misfortune, what Mr. Steele affirms, That treasonable Books lately dispersed among us, striking apparently at the Hanover Succession, have passed almost without Observation from the Generality of the People; because it seems a certain Sign that the Generality of the People are well disposed to that illustrious Family: But, I look upon it as a great Evil, to see seditious Books dispersed among us, apparently striking at the QUEEN and her Administration, at the Constitution in Church and State, and at all Religion; yet passing without Observation from the Generality of those in Power: But whether this Remissness may be imputed to White Hall, or Westminster-Hall, is other Mens Business to enquire. Mr. Steele knows in his Conscience, that the *Queries concerning the Pretender*, issued from one of his own Party. And as for the poor Nonjuring Clergyman, who was trusted with committing to the Press a late Book on the Subject of Hereditary Right, by a Strain of the *Summum Jus*, he is now, as I am told, with half a score Children,

Children, starving and rotting among Thieves and Pick-pockets, in the common Room of a stinking Jail*. I have never seen either the Book or the Publisher; however, I would fain ask *one single Person* in the World a Question; Why he who hath so often drank the abdicated King's Health upon his Knees? — But the Transition is natural and frequent, and I shall not trouble him for an Answer.

IT is the hardest Case in the World, that Mr. Steele should take up the artificial Reports of his own Faction, and then put them off upon the World, as *additional Fears of a Popish Successor*. I can assure him, that no good Subject of the QUEEN is under the least Concern whether the *Pretender* be converted or no, farther than their Wishes that all Men would embrace the true Religion. But, reporting backwards and forwards upon this Point, helps to keep up the Noise, and is a Topick for Mr. Steele to enlarge himself upon, by shewing how little we can depend on such Conversions; by collecting a List of *Popish Cruelties*, and repeating, after himself and the Bishop of Sarum, the dismal Effects likely to follow upon the Return of that Superstition among us.

BUT, as this Writer is reported by those who know him, to be what the *French* call *Journalier*, his Fear and Courage operating according to the Weather in our uncertain Climate; I am apt to believe the two last Pages of his *Crisis* were written on a *Sunshine Day*. This I guess from the general Tenor of them, and particularly from an unwary Assertion, which, if he believe as firmly as I do, will at once overthrow all his foreign and Dome-

* Upon his Conviction he was committed to the *Marshalsea*, and at his Sentence to the *Queen's Bench* for three Years.

stick Fears of a Popish Successor. As divided a People as we are, those who stand for the House of Hanover, are *INFINITELY* superior in Number, Wealth, Courage, and all Arts Military and Civil, to those in the contrary Interest; besides which we have the Laws, I say, the Laws on our Side. The Laws, I say, the Laws. This elegant Repetition is, I think, a little out of Place: For, the Stress might better have been laid upon so great a Majority of the Nation; without which, I doubt the Laws would be of little Weight; although they be very good additional Securities. And, if what he here asserts be true, as it certainly is, although he asserts it (for I allow even the Majority of his own Party to be against the Pretender) there can be no Danger of a Popish Successor, except from the unreasonable Jealousies of the *best* among that Party, and from the Malice, the Avarice, or Ambition of the *worst*; without which, Britain would be able to defend her Succession against all her Enemies both at Home and Abroad. Most of the Dangers from Abroad which he enumerates as the Consequences of this very bad Peace, made by the QUEEN and approved by Parliament, must have subsisted under any Peace at all; unless, among other Projects equally feasible, we could have stipulated to cut the Throats of every *Popish* Relation to the Royal Family.

WELL, by this Author's own Confession, a Number infinitely superior, and the best circumstantiated imaginable, are for the Succession in the House of Hanover. This Succession is established, confirmed, and secured by several Laws; Her Majesty's repeated Declarations, and the Oaths of all her Subjects, engage both her and them to preserve what those Laws have settled. This is a Security indeed, a Secu-

a *Security* adequate at least to the Importance of the Thing; and yet, according to the Whig Scheme, as delivered to us by Mr. *Steele*, and his Coadjutors, is altogether insufficient; and the Succession will be defeated, the *Pretender* brought in, and *Popery* established among us, without the farther Assistance of this Writer and his Faction.

AND what Securities have our Adversaries substituted in the Place of these? A Club of Politicians, where *Jenny Man* presides; A *Crisis* written by Mr. *Steele*; a Confederacy of knavish Stock-Jobbers to ruin Credit; a Report of the QUEEN's Death; an *Effgies* of the *Pretender* run twice through the Body by a valiant Peer: A Speech by the Author of the *Crisis*: And to sum up all, an unlimited Freedom of reviling Her Majesty, and those she employs.

I HAVE now finished the most disgustful Task that ever I undertook: I could with more Ease have written *three* dull Pamphlets, than remarked upon the Falshoods and Absurdities of *One*. But I was quite confounded last *Wednesday* when the Printer came with another Pamphlet in his Hand, written by the same Author, and entituled, *The Englishman, being the Close of the Paper so called, &c.* He desired I would read it over, and consider it in a Paper by itself; which last I absolutely refused. Upon Perusal, I found it chiefly an Invective against *Toby*, the Ministry, the *Examiner*, the Clergy, the QUEEN, and the *Post-Boy*: Yet, at the same Time with great Justice exclaiming against those who presumed to offer the least Word against the Heads of that Faction whom Her Majesty discarded. The Author likewise proposeth an *equal Division of Favour and Employments* between the Whigs and Tories: For, if the former *can have no*

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Part or Portion in David, they desire no longer to be his Subjects. He insists, that Her Majesty hath exactly followed Monsieur Tugbe's Memorial against demolishing of Dunkirk. He reflects with great Satisfaction on the Good already done to his Country by the Crisis. *Non nobis Domine, non nobis, &c.*-----He gives us Hopes that he will leave off Writing, and consult his own Quiet and Happiness; and concludes with a Letter to a Friend at Court. I suppose by the Style of old Friend, and the like, it must be some Body there of his own Level; among whom his Party have indeed more Friends than I could wish. In this Letter he asserts, that the present Ministers were not educated in the Church of England, but are new Converts from Presbytery. Upon which I can only reflect, how blind the Malice of that Man must be, who invents a groundless Lye in order to defame his Superiors, which would be no Disgrace, if it had been a Truth. And he concludes, with making three Demands for the Satisfaction of himself and other Malecontents. First, *The Demolition of the Harbour of Dunkirk*: Secondly, *That Great Britain and France would heartily join against the exorbitant Power of the Duke of Lorraine, and force the Pretender from his Assylum at Bar le Duc*: Lastly, *That his Electoral Highness of Hanover would be so grateful to signify to all the World, the perfect good Understanding he hath with the Court of England, in as plain Terms as Her Majesty was pleased to declare she had with that House on Her Part.*

As to the first of these Demands, I will venture to undertake it shall be granted; but then Mr. Steele, and his Brother Malecontents, must promise to believe the Thing is done, after those employed have made their Report; or else bring Vouchers to disprove it. Upon the second; I cannot tell whether

ther her Majesty will engage in a War against the Duke of *Lorrain*, to *force him to remove the Pretender*; but I believe, if the Parliament should think it necessary to address upon such an Occasion, the QUEEN will move that Prince to send him away. His last Demand, offered under the Title of a *Wish*, is of so insolent and seditious a Strain, that I care not to touch it. Here he directly chargeth her Majesty with delivering a Falshood to her Parliament from the Throne; and declares he will not believe her, until the Elector of *Hanover* himself shall vouch for the Truth of what she hath so solemnly affirmed.

I AGREE with this Writer, that it is an idle Thing in his Antagonists to trouble themselves upon the *Articles of his Birth, Education, or Fortune*; for whoever writes at this Rate of his Sovereign, to whom he owes so many personal Obligations, I should never enquire whether he be a GENTLEMAN BORN, but whether he be a HUMAN CREATURE.

333

A
P R E F A C E

To the RIGHT REVEREND

Dr. B——T, B__p of S——'s

I N T R O D U C T I O N

To the THIRD VOLUME of the

HISTORY of the REFORMATION

O F T H E

CHURCH of *England.*

——— *Spargere voces*
In vulgum ambiguas; & quærere conscius arma.

WRITTEN in the YEAR 1712.

P R E F A C E

To the Right Reverend

Dr. B. B. B. of S. S.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

To the Three Volumes of the

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

Church of England.

In original and genuine
manuscript of the author.

Written in the Year 1712.

THE
PREFACE.

Mr. Morpew,

YOUR Care in putting an Advertisement in the Examiner hath been of very great Use to me. I do now send you my Preface to the B——p of S——'s Introduction to his third Volume, which I desire you to print in such a Form, as in the Bookseller's Phrase, will make a fixpenny Touch; hoping, it will give such a publick Notice of my Design, that it may come into the Hands of those who perhaps look not into the B——p's Introduction.

The P R E F A C E.

troduction. *I desire you will prefix to this a Passage out of Virgil, which doth so perfectly agree with my present Thoughts of his Lordship, that I cannot express them better, nor more truly than those Words do,*

I am,

S I R,

Your humble Servant.

A P R E-

A
P R E F A C E

To the RIGHT REVEREND

Dr. B----T, B---p of S----'s

INTRODUCTION.

THIS Way of publishing Introductions to Books that are, GOD knows when, to come out, is either wholly new, or so long unpractised, that my small Reading cannot trace it: However, we are to suppose, that a Person of his Lordship's great Age and Experience, would hardly act such a Piece of Singularity, without some extraordinary Motives. I cannot but observe, that his Fellow Labourer, the Author of the Paper, called, * *The Englishman*, seems, in some

* Mr. STEELE.

of

of his late Performances, to have almost transcribed the Notions of the B—p: These Notions, I take to have been dictated by the same Masters, leaving to each Writer that peculiar Manner of expressing himself, which the Poverty of our Language forceth me to call their Style. When the *Guardian* changed his Title, and professed to engage in Faction, I was sure the Word was given, that grand Preparations were making against next Sessions: That all Advantages would be taken of the little Dissentions reported to be among those in Power; and, that the *Guardian* would soon be seconded by some other Piquerers from the same Camp. But I will confess, my Suspicions did not carry me so far, as to conjecture, that this venerable Champion would be in such mighty Haste to come into the Field, and serve in the Quality of an *Enfant perdu*, armed only with a *Pocket Pistol*, before his great *Blunderbuss* could be got ready, his old rusty *Breast-plate* scoured, and his cracked *Head-piece* mended.

I was debating with myself, whether this Hint of producing a small Pamphlet to give Notice of a large Folio, were not borrowed from the Ceremonial in *Spanish Romances*, where a *Dwarf* is sent out upon the Battlements, to signify to all Passengers, what a mighty *Giant* there is in the Castle: Or, whether the B—p copied this Proceeding from the *Fanfaronnade* of Monsieur *Bouffleurs*, when the Earl of *Portland* and that General had an Interview. Several Men were appointed at certain Periods, to ride in great Haste towards the *English Camp*, and cry out, *Monseigneur vient, Monseigneur vient*: Then, small Parties advanced with the same Speed, and the same Cry; and this Foppery held for many Hours, until the *Mareschal* himself arrived. So here, the B—p (as we find by his
Dedi-

Dedication to Mr. *Churchill* the Bookseller) hath for a long Time, sent Warning of his Arrival, by Advertisements in *Gazettes*; and now his Introduction advanceth to tell us again, *Monseigneur vient*: In the mean Time, we must gape, and wait, and gaze, the Lord knows how long, and keep our Spirits in some reasonable Agitation, until his Lordship's real self shall think fit to appear in the Habit of a Folio.

I HAVE seen the same Sort of Management at a Puppet Show. Some Puppets of little or no Consequence, appeared several Times at the Window, to allure the Boys and the Rabble: The Trumpeter sounded often, and the Door-keeper cried an hundred Times, until he was Hoarse, that they were just going to begin; yet after all, we were forced some Times to wait an Hour before *Punch* himself in Person made his Entry.

BUT why this Ceremony among old Acquaintance? The World and he have long known one another: Let him appoint his Hour and make his Visit, without troubling us all Day with a Succession of Messages from his Lacqueys and Pages.

WITH Submission, these little Arts of getting off an Edition, do ill become any Author above the Size of *Marten* the Surgeon. My L—d tells us, That many thousands of the two former Parts of his *History* are in the Kingdom; and now he perpetually advertiseth in the *Gazette*, that he intends to publish the Third: This is exactly in the Method and Style of *Marten*: The seventh Edition (many thousands of the former Editions having been sold off in a small Time) of Mr. *Marten's* Book concerning secret Diseases, &c.

BOTH his L——p intend to publish his great Volume by Subscription, and is this Introduction only

only by way of Specimen? I was inclined to think so, because in the prefixed Letter to Mr. *Churchill*, which introduces this *Introduction*, there are some dubious Expressions: He says, *The Advertisements be published, were in order to move People to furnish him with Materials, which might help him to finish his Work with great Advantage.* If he means half a Guinea upon the Subscription, and the other Half at the Delivery, why doth he not tell us so in plain Terms?

I AM wondering how it came to pass, that this diminutive Letter to Mr. *Churchill* should understand the Business of introducing better than the *Introduction* itself; or why the B—p did not take it into his Head to send the former into the World some Months before the latter; which would have been yet a greater improvement upon the Solemnity of the Procession.

SINCE I writ these last Lines, I have perused the whole Pamphlet (which I had only dipt in before) and found I have been hunting upon a wrong Scent; for the Author hath in several Parts of his Piece discovered the true Motives, which put him upon sending it abroad at this Juncture; I shall therefore consider them as they come in my Way.

My Lord begins his *Introduction* with an Account of the Reasons, why he was guilty of so many Mistakes in the first Volume of his History of the Reformation; His Excuses are just, rational, and extremely consistent. He says, *He wrote in Haste,* which he confirms by adding, *That it lay a Year after he wrote it, before it was put into the Press:* At the same Time he mentions a Passage extremely to the Honour of that pious and excellent Prelate, Archbishop *Sancroft*, which demonstrates his Grace to have been a Person of great Sagacity, and almost
a Pro-

a Prophet. Doctor B---t then a private Divine, desired admittance to the Cotton Library, but was prevented by the Archbishop, who told Sir John Cotton, that the said Doctor was no Friend to the Prerogative of the Crown, or to the Constitution of the Kingdom. This Judgment was the more extraordinary, because the Doctor had not long before published a Book in Scotland, with his Name prefixed, which carries the Regal Prerogative higher than any Writer of the Age: However, the good Archbishop lived to see his Opinion become universal in the Kingdom.

THE B—p goes on for many Pages, with an Account of certain Facts relating to the publishing his two former Volumes of the Reformation; the great Success of that Work, and the Adversaries who appeared against it. These are Matters out of the Way of my Reading; only I observe that poor Mr. Henry Wharton, who hath deserved so well of the Commonwealth of Learning, and who gave himself the Trouble of detecting some Hundreds of the B—p's Mistakes, meets with very ill Quarter from his L----p. Upon which I cannot avoid mentioning a peculiar Method which this P----e takes to revenge himself upon those who presume to differ from him in Print. The present * Bishop of Rochester happened some Years ago to be of this Number. My L—d of S—m in his Reply ventured to tell the World, that the Gentleman who had writ against him, meaning Dr. Atterbury, was one, upon whom he had conferred great Obligations; which was a very generous Christian Contrivance of charging his Adversary with Ingratitude. But it seems, the Truth happened to be on the other

* DR. ATTERBURY.

Side, which the Doctor made appear in such a Manner as would have silenced his Lordship for ever, if he had not been Writing-proof. Poor Mr. *Wharton* in his Grave, is charged with the same Accusation, but with Circumstances the most aggravating that Malice and something else could invent; and which I will no more believe, than five hundred Passages in a certain Book of Travels. See the Character he gives of a Divine, and a Scholar, who shortened his Life in the Service of God and the Church. *Mr. Wharton desired me to intercede with Tillotson for a Prebend of Canterbury. I did so, but Wharton would not believe it; said he would be revenged, and so writ against me. Soon after he was convinced I had spoke for him, said he was set on to do what he did, and if I would procure any Thing for him, he would discover every Thing to me.* What a Spirit of Candor, Charity, and good Nature, Generosity, and Truth, shines through this Story, told of a most excellent and pious Divine, twenty Years after his Death, without one single Voucher!

COME we now to the Reasons which moved his Lordship to set about this Work at this Time. He could delay it no longer, because the Reasons of his engaging in it at first, seemed to return upon him. He was then frightened with the Danger of a Popish Successor in View, and the dreadful Apprehensions of the Power of France. England hath forgot these Dangers, and yet is nearer to them than ever, and therefore he is resolved to awaken them with his third Volume; but in the mean Time, sends this Introduction to let them know they are asleep. He then goes on in describing the Condition of the Kingdom

Kingdom after such a Manner as if Destruction hung over us by a single Hair; as if the *Pope*, the *Devil*, the *Pretender*, and *France*, were just at our Doors.

WHEN the B—p published his History, there was a *Popish* Plot on Foot: The Duke of *York*, a known *Papist*, was presumptive Heir to the Crown; the House of Commons would not hear of any Expedients for securing their Religion under a *Popish* Prince, nor would the King or Lords consent to a Bill of Exclusion: The *French* King was in the Height of his Grandeur, and the Vigour of his Age. At this Day the Presumptive Heir, with that whole illustrious Family, are *Protestants*; the *Popish Pretender* excluded for ever by several Acts of Parliament; and every Person in the smallest Employment, as well as Member in both Houses, obliged to *abjure* him. The *French* King is at the lowest Ebb of Life; his Armies have been conquered, and his Towns won from him for ten Years together; and his Kingdom is in Danger of being torn by Divisions during a long Minority. Are these Cases Parallel? Or are we now in more Danger of *France* and *Popery* than we were thirty Years ago? What can be the Motive for advancing such false, such detestable Assertions? What Conclusions would his Lordship draw from such Premises as these? If injurious Appellations were of any Advantage to a Cause (as the Style of our Adversaries would make us believe) what Appellations would those deserve, who thus endeavour to sow the Seeds of Sedition, and are impatient to see the Fruits? But, saith he, *the deaf Adder stops her Ear, let the Charmer charm never so wisely*. True, my L—d, there are indeed too many *Adders* in this Nation's Bosom; *Adders* in all Shapes, and in all Habits, whom

whom neither the *Queen* nor Parliament, can *charm* to Loyalty, Truth, Religion, or Honour.

AMONG other Instances produced by him of the dismal Condition we are in, he offers one which could not easily be gueſſed. It is this, *That the little factious Pamphlets written about the End of King Charles II's. Reign, lie dead in Shops, are looked on as waſte Paper, and turned to Paſteboard.* How many are there of his Lordſhip's Writing, which could otherwiſe never have been of any real Service to the Publick? Hath he indeed ſo mean an Opinion of our Taſte, to ſend us at this Time of Day into all the Corners of *Holborn, Duck Lane, and Moorfields*, in queſt after the factious Traſh, publiſhed in thoſe Days by *Julian Johnſon, Hickeriſgil, Dr. Oates*, and himſelf.

HIS Lordſhip taking it for a *Poſtulatam*, that the QUEEN and Miniſtry, both Houſes of Parliament, and a vaſt Majority of the Landed Gentlemen throughout *England*, are running headlong into *Popery*, layeth hold on the Occaſion to deſcribe the Cruelties in *Queen MARY's Reign: An Inquiſition ſetting up, Faggots in Smithfield, and Executions all over the Kingdom.* Here is that, ſays he, *which thoſe that look towards a Popiſh Succeſſor muſt look for.* And he inſinuates through his whole Pamphlet, that all who are not of his Party, *look towards a Popiſh Succeſſor.* Theſe he divides into two Parts, the *Tory Laity*, and the *Tory Clergy*. He tells the former, *Although they have no Religion at all, but reſolve to change with every Wind and Tide; yet they ought to have Compaſſion on their Countrymen and Kindred.* Then he applies himſelf to the *Tory Clergy*, aſſures them, that *the Fires revived in Smithfield, and all over the Nation, will have no amiable View; but leaſt of all to them, who if they have any Principles*
at

at all, must be turned out of their Livings, leave their Families, be bunted from Place to Place, into Parts beyond the Seas, and meet with that Contempt, with which they treated Foreigners who took Sanctuary among us.

THIS requires a Recapitulation, with some Remarks. First, I do affirm, that in every hundred of professed *Atheists, Deists, and Socinians* in the Kingdom, ninety nine at least, are stanch thorow-paced *Whigs*, entirely agreeing with his L-----p in Politicks and Discipline; and therefore will venture all the Fires of Hell rather than singe one Hair of their Beards in *Smithfield*. Secondly, I do likewise affirm, that those whom we usually understand by the Appellation of *Tory* or High-church Clergy, were the greatest Sticklers against the exorbitant Proceedings of King *James* the Second, the best Writers against Popery, and the most exemplary Sufferers for the Established Religion. Thirdly, I do pronounce it to be a most false and infamous Scandal upon the Nation in General, and on the Clergy in particular, to reproach them for *treating Foreigners with Haughtiness and Contempt*: The *French Hugonots* are many thousand Witnesses to the contrary; and, I wish, they deserved the thousandth Part of the good Treatment they have received.

LASTLY, I observe that the Author of a Paper, called, *The Englishman*, hath run into the same Cant, gravely advising the whole Body of the Clergy, not to bring in *Popery*, because that will put them under a Necessity of parting with their Wives, or losing their Livings.

THE Bulk of the Kingdom, both Clergy and Laity, happen to differ extremely from this *P-e-*
t-e in many Principles, both of Politicks and Re-

ligion: Now I ask, Whether if any Man of them had signed their Name to a System of *Albeism* or *Popery*, he could have argued with them otherways than he doth? Or, if I should write a grave Letter to his L-----p with the same Advice, taking it for granted, that he was half an *Albeist* and half a *Papist*, and conjuring him, by all he held dear, to have Compassion upon all those who believed a God, *not to revive the Fires in Smithfield, that he must either forfeit his Bishoprick, or not marry a fourth Wife*; I ask, Whether he would not think I intended him the highest Injury and Affront?

BUT as to the *Tory* Laity, he gives them up in a Lump for abandoned Atheists: They are a Set of Men so *impiously corrupted in the Point, of Religion that no Scene of Cruelty can fright them from leaping into it (Popery) and perhaps acting such a Part in it, as may be assigned them.* He therefore despairs of influencing them by any Topicks drawn from Religion or Compassion, and advances the Consideration of *Interest*, as the only powerful Argument to persuade them against *Popery*.

WHAT he offers upon this Head is so very amazing from a *Christian*, a *Clergyman*, and a *Prelate* of the *Church of England*, that I must in my own Imagination, strip him of those three Capacities, and put him among the Number of *that Set of Men* he mentions in the Paragraph before; or else it will be impossible to shape out an Answer.

HIS L-----p, in order to dissuade the *Tories* from their Design of bringing in *Popery*, tells them, *How valuable a Part of the whole Soil of England, the Abby Lands, the Estates of the Bishops, of the Cathedrals, and the Tythes are: How difficult such a Resumption would be to many Families;*

lies; yet all these must be thrown up; for, *Sacrilege in the Church of Rome, is a mortal Sin.* I desire it may be observed, What a Jumble here is made of Ecclesiastical Revenues, as if they were all upon the same Foot, were alienated with equal Justice; and the Clergy had no more Reason to complain of one than the other. Whereas, the four Branches mentioned by him, are of very different Consideration. If I might venture to guess the Opinion of the Clergy upon this Matter, I believe they could wish, that some small Part of the *Abby Lands* had been applied to the Augmentation of poor Bishopricks; and a very few Acres to serve for Glebes in those Parishes where there are none; after which, I think they would not repine that the Laity should possess the rest. If the Estates of some Bishops and Cathedrals were exorbitant before the Reformation, I believe the present Clergy's Wishes reach no further, than that some reasonable Temper had been used, instead of paring them to the Quick: But, as to the *Tythes*, without examining whether they be of divine Institution, I conceive there is hardly one of that sacred Order in *England*, and very few even among the Laity who love the Church, who will not allow the misapplying those Revenues to secular Persons, to have been at first a most flagrant Act of Injustice and Oppression: Although at the same Time, God forbid they should be restored any other Way, than by gradual Purchase, by the Consent of those who are now the lawful Possessors, or by the Piety and Generosity of such worthy Spirits as this Nation sometimes produceth. The B—p knows very well, that the Application of *Tythes* to the Maintenance of Monasteries, was a scandalous Usurpation, even in Popish Times: That the Monks usually sent out some of their

Fraternity to supply the Cures; and that, when the Monasteries were granted away by *Henry VIII.* the Parishes were left destitute, or very meanly provided of any Maintenance for a Pastor. So, that in many Places the whole Ecclesiastical Dues, even to *Mortuaries, Easter Offerings*, and the like, are in Lay Hands, and the Incumbent lieth wholly at the Mercy of his Patron for his daily Bread. By these Means there are several hundred Parishes in *England* under 20 *l.* a Year, and many under Ten. I take his L-----p's Bishoprick to be worth near 2500 *l.* annual Income; and I will engage, at half a Year's Warning, to find him above an hundred beneficed Clergymen, who have not so much among them all to support themselves and their Families; most of them Orthodox, of good Life and Conversation; as loth to see the Fires kindled in *Smithfield*, as his L-----p; and, at least, as ready to face them under a *Popish* Persecution. But nothing is so hard for those, who abound in Riches, as to conceive how others can be in Want. How can the neighbouring Vicar feel Cold or Hunger, while my L---d is seated by a good Fire in the warmest Room of his Palace, with a Dozen Dishes before him? I remember one other P--l--e much of the same Stamp, who, when his Clergy would mention their Wishes, that some Act of Parliament might be thought of for the Good of the Church; would say, *Gentlemen, We are very well as We are; if they would let Us alone, We should ask no more.*

SACRILEGE (says my L---d) in the Church of Rome, is a mortal Sin: And is it only so in the Church of Rome? Or, is it but a venial Sin in the Church of *England*? Our Litany calls *Fornication* a deadly Sin; and, I would appeal to his Lordship for

for fifty Years past, whether he thought that or *Sacrilege* the deadliest. To make light of such a Sin, at the same Moment that he is frightening us from an idolatrous Religion, should seem not very consistent. THOU *that sayest, a Man should not commit Adultery, dost THOU commit Adultery? THOU that abhorrest Idols, dost thou commit Sacrilege?*

To smoothe the Way for the Return of Popery in Queen *Mary's* Time, the Grantees were confirmed by the *Pope* in the Possession of the Abby Lands. But the Bishop tells us, that *this Confirmation was fraudulent and invalid*. I shall believe it to be so, although I happen to read it in his L——p's History: But he adds, *that although the Confirmation had been good, the Priests would have got their Lands again, by those two Methods; First, The Statute of Mortmain was repealed for twenty Years, in which time, no doubt they reckoned they would recover the best Part of what they had lost; Beside, that engaging the Clergy to renew no Leases, was a thing entirely in their own Power; and this in forty Years time, would raise their Revenues to be about ten times their present Value*. These two Expedients for increasing the Revenues of the Church, he represents as pernicious Designs, fit only to be practised in Times of Popery, and such as the Laity ought never to consent to: From whence, and from what he said before about Tythes, his L——p hath freely declared his Opinion, that the Clergy are rich enough, and that the least Addition to their Subsistence would be a Step towards Popery. Now it happens, that the two only Methods which could ever be thought on, with any Probability of Success, towards some reasonable Augmentation of Ecclesiastical Revenues, are here rejected by a B—p, as a means for introducing Popery; and the

Nation publickly warned against them. Whereas, the Continuance of the Statute of *Mortmain* in full Force, after the Church had been so terribly stripped, appeared to Her Majesty and the Kingdom a very unnecessary Hardship; upon which Account it was at several times *relaxed* by the Legislature. Now, as the Relaxation of that Statute is manifestly one of the Reasons, which gives the B—p those terrible Apprehensions of Popery coming on us; so I conceive another Ground of his Fears, is the Remission of the First-fruits and Tenths. But where the Inclination to *Popery* lay, whether in Her Majesty, who proposed this Benefaction, the Parliament which confirmed, or the Clergy who accepted it, his L——p hath not thought fit to determine.

THE other Popish Expedient for augmenting Church Revenues, is *engaging the Clergy to renew no Leases*. Several of the most eminent Clergymen have assured me, that nothing hath been more wished for by good Men, than a Law to prevent (at least) Bishops from setting Leases for Lives. I could name ten Bishopricks in *England*, whose Revenues, one with another, do not amount to 600 *l.* a Year for each: And, if his L——p's, for Instance, should be above ten times the Value, when the Lives are expired, I should think the Overplus would not be ill disposed towards an Augmentation of such as are now shamefully poor. But I do assert, That such an Expedient was not always thought Popish and dangerous by this Right Reverend Historian. I have had the Honour formerly to converse with him; and he hath told me several Years ago, that he lamented extremely the Power which Bishops had of letting Leases for Lives; whereby, as he said, they were utterly deprived of raising their Revenues, whatever Alterations might happen in the

the Value of Money by Length of Time. I think the Reproach of betraying private Conversation, will not, upon this Account, be laid to my Charge. Neither do I believe he would have changed his Opinion upon any Score, but to take up another more agreeable to the Maxims of his Party; that *the least Addition of Property to the Church, is one Step towards Popery.*

THE B----p goes on with much Earnestness and Prolixity to prove, That the *Pope's* Confirmation of the *Church Lands* to those who held them by King *Henry's* Donation, was null and fraudulent; which is a Point that I believe no *Protestant* in *England* would give three Pence to have his Choice, whether it should be true or false: It might indeed serve as a Passage in his History, among a thousand other Instances, to detect the Knavery of the Court of *Rome*: But I ask, Where could be the Use of it in this Introduction? Or, why all this Haste in publishing it at this Juncture; and so out of all Method, apart, and before the Work itself? He gives his Reasons in very plain Terms, We are now, it seems, *in more Danger of Popery, than towards the End of King Charles the Second's Reign. That Set of Men* (the Tories) *is so impiously corrupted in the Point of Religion, that no Scene of Cruelty can fright them from leaping into it, and perhaps from acting such a Part in it as may be assigned them.* He doubts whether the High-church Clergy have any Principles, and therefore will be ready to turn off their Wives, and look on the Fires kindled in *Smithfield* as an *amiable View*. These are the Facts he all along takes for granted, and argues accordingly, Therefore in Despair of dissuading the Nobility and Gentry of the Land from introducing *Popery* by any Motives of Honour, Religion, Alliance or

Mercy, he assures them, *That the Pope hath not duly confirmed their Tythes to the Church Lands in their Possession*; which therefore must be infallibly restored, as soon as that Religion is established among us.

THUS, in his L-----p's Opinion, there is nothing wanting to make the Majority of the Kingdom, both for Number, Quality, and Possession, immediately embrace *Popery*, except a *firm Bull from the Pope* to secure the Abby and other Church Lands and Tythes to the present Proprietors and their Heirs: If this only Difficulty could now be adjusted, the *Pretender* would be restored next Session, the two Houses reconciled to the Church of *Rome* against *Easter Term*, and the Fires lighted in *Smithfield* by *Midsummer*. Such horrible Calumnies against a Nation are not the less injurious to Decency, Good Nature, Truth, Honour, and Religion; because they may be vented with Safety: And I will appeal to any Reader of common Understanding, whether this be not the most natural and necessary Deduction from the Passages I have cited and referred to.

YET, all this is but freindly Dealing, in Comparison with what he affords the Clergy upon the same Article. He supposes that whole Reverend Body, who differ from him in Principles of *Church* or *State*, so far from disliking *Popery*, upon the above mentioned Motives of *Perjury*, *quitting their Wives*, *or burning their Relations*; that, the Hopes of *enjoying the Abby Lands* would soon bear down all such Considerations, and be an effectual Incitement to their Perversion: And so he goes gravely on, as with the only Argument, which he thinks can have any Force, to assure them; that the *Parochial Priests in Roman Catholick Countries are much poorer than*

than in ours; the several Orders of Regulars, and the Magnificence of their Church, devouring all their Treasure; and by Consequence, their Hopes are vain of expecting to be richer after the Introduction of Popery.

BUT after all, his L-----p despairs, that even this Argument will have any Force with our abominable Clergy, because, to use his own Words, *They are an insensible and degenerate Race, who are thinking of nothing but their present Advantages: And so that they may now support a luxurious and brutal Course of irregular and voluptuous Practices, they are easily hired to betray their Religion, to sell their Country, and give up that Liberty and those Properties, which are the present Felicities and Glories of this Nation.*

HE seems to reckon all these Evils as Matters fully determined on, and therefore falls into the last usual Forms of Despair by threatening the Authors of these Miseries with *lasting Infamy, and the Curses of Posterity upon perfidious Betrayers of their Trust.*

LET me turn this Paragraph into vulgar Language for the Use of the Poor; and strictly adhere to the Sense of the Words. I believe it may be faithfully translated in the following Manner, *The Bulk of the Clergy, and one Third of the Bishops are stupid Sons of Whores, who think of nothing but getting Money as soon as they can: If they may but procure enough to supply them in Gluttony, Drunkenness, and Whoring, they are ready to turn Traytors to God and their Country, and make their Fellow Subjects Slaves.* The rest of the Period about threatening Infamy and the Curses of Posterity upon such Dogs and Villains, may stand as it doth in the B—p's own Phrase; and so make the Paragraph all of a Piece.

I WILL engage on the other Side, to paraphrase all the Rogues and Rascals in the *Englishman*, so as

to bring them up exactly to his L-----p's Style: But, for my own Part, I much prefer the plain *Bil-linggate* Way of calling Names, because it expresseth our Meaning full as well, and would save abundance of Time which is lost by Circumlocution: So, for Instance, *John Dunton*, who is retained on the same Side with the B—p, calls my *Lord Treasurer* and *Lord Bolingbroke*, Traytors, Whoremongers, and Jacobites; which three Words cost our Right Reverend Author thrice as many Lines to define them; and I hope his L-----p doth not think there is any Difference in point of Morality, whether a Man calls me *Traitor* in one Word, or says I am one *hired to betray my Religion, and sell my Country*.

I AM not surprized to see the B—p mention with Contempt all Convocations of the Clergy; For *Toland*, *Asgil*, *Monmouth*, *Collins*, *Tindal*, and others of the Fraternity, talk the very same Language. His L-----p confesseth he is *not enclined to expect much from the Assemblies of Clergymen*. There lies the Misfortune: For, if he and some more of his Order would correct their *Inclinations*, a great deal of Good might be expected from such Assemblies; as much as they are now cramped by that Submission, which a corrupt Clergy brought upon their innocent Successors. He *will not deny that his Copiousness in these Matters is, in his own Opinion, one of the meanest Parts of his new Work*. I will agree with him, unless he happens to be more *copious* in any Thing else. However, it is not easy to conceive, why he should be so *copious* upon a Subject he so much despiseth, unless it were to gratify his Talent of railing at the Clergy, in the Number of whom he disdains to be reckoned, because he is a B—p: For, it is a Style I observe some Prelates have

have fallen into of late Years, to talk of Clergymen, as if themselves were not of the Number. You will read in many of their Speeches at Dr. *Sacheverell's* Tryal, Expressions to this or the like Effect: *My Lords, if Clergymen be suffered, &c.* wherein they seem to have Reason: And I am pretty confident, that a great Majority of the Clergy were heartily inclined to disown any Relation they had to the *Managers in Lawn*. However, it was a confounding Argument against *Presbytery*, to see those Prelates, who are most suspected to lean that Way, treating their inferior Brethren with *Haughtiness, Rigour, and Contempt*; although to say the Truth, nothing better could be hoped for; because, I believe, it may pass for an universal Rule, that in every Diocese governed by Bishops of the Whig Species, the Clergy (especially the poorer Sort) are under double Discipline; and the Laity left to themselves. The Opinion of Sir *Thomas Moore*, which he produceth to prove the ill Consequences or Insignificancy of Convocations, advanceth no such Thing; but says, *If the Clergy assembled often, and might act as other Assemblies of Clergy in Christendom, much Good might have come: But the Misfortune lay in their long Disuse, and that in his own, and a good Part of his Father's Time, they never came together, except at the Command of the Prince.*

I suppose his L-----p thinks, there is some original Impediment in the Study of Divinity, or secret Incapacity in a Gown and Cassock without *Lawn*, which disqualifies all inferior Clergymen from debating upon Subjects of Doctrine or Discipline in the Church. It is a famous Saying of his, *That he looks upon every Layman to be an honest Man, until he is by Experience convinced to the contrary:*

trary: And on every Clergyman as a Knave, until he finds him to be an honest Man. What Opinion then must we have of a Lower House of Convocation; where, I am confident he will hardly find three Persons that ever convinced him of their Honesty, or will ever be at the Pains to do it? Nay, I am afraid they would think such a Conviction might be no very advantageous Bargain, to gain the Character of an honest Man with his L——p, and lose it with the rest of the World.

In the famous *Concordate* that was made between Francis I. of France, and Pope Leo X. the B—p tells us, that *the King and Pope came to a Bargain, by which they divided the Liberties of the Gallican Church between them, and indeed quite enslaved it.* He intends, in the third Part of his History, which he is going to publish, to open this whole Matter to the World. In the mean Time, he mentions some ill Consequences to the Gallican Church from that *Concordate*, which are worthy to be observed; *the Church of France became a Slave, and this Change in their Constitution put an End, not only to National, but even to Provincial Synods in that Kingdom. The Assemblies of the Clergy there, meet now only to give Subsidies, &c.* and he says, *our Nation may see by that Proceeding, what it is to deliver up the essential Liberties of a free Constitution to a Court.*

ALL I can gather from this Matter is, That our King Henry made a better Bargain than his Contemporary Francis, who divided the Liberties of the Church between himself and the Pope, while the King of England seized them all to himself. But, how comes he to number the Want of Synods in the Gallican Church, among the Grievances of that *Concordate*, and as a Mark of their Slavery, since he reckons all Convocations of the Clergy in Eng-
land

land to be useless and dangerous? Or, what Difference in Point of Liberty was there between the *Gallican Church* under *Francis*, and the *English* under *Harry*? For, the latter was as much a *Papist* as the former, unless in the Point of Obedience to the See of *Rome*; and in every Quality of a good Man, or a good Prince (except personal Courage wherein both were equal) the *French Monarch* had the Advantage by as many Degrees as is possible for one Man to have over another.

HENRY VIII. had no Manner of Intention to change Religion in his Kingdom; he continued to persecute and burn Protestants after he had cast off the *Pope's* Supremacy: And, I suppose, his Seizure of Ecclesiastical Revenues (which *Francis* never attempted) cannot be reckoned as a Mark of the Church's Liberty. By the Quotations the B—p sets down to shew the Slavery of the *French Church*, he represents it as a Grievance, that *Bishops* are not now elected there as formerly, but wholly appointed by the Prince; and that those made by the Court have been ordinarily the chief Advancers of Schisms, Heresies, and Oppressions of the Church. He cites another Passage from a Greek Writer, and plainly insinuates, that it is justly applicable to Her Majesty's Reign: *Princes chuse such Men to that Charge (of a Bishop) who may be their Slaves, and in all Things obsequious to what they prescribe; and may lie at their Feet, and have not so much as a Thought contrary to their Commands.*

THESE are very singular Passages for his L-----p to set down, in order to shew the dismal Consequences of the *French Concordate*, by the Slavery of the *Gallican Church*, compared with the Freedom of ours. I shall not enter into a long Dispute, whether it were better for Religion, that Bishops should

should be chosen by the Clergy, or People, or both together: I believe our Author would give his Vote for the second (which however would not have been of much Advantage to himself and some others that I could name) but I ask, Whether Bishops are any more elected in *England* than in *France*? And the Want of Synods are in his own Opinion, rather a Blessing than a Grievance, unless he will affirm, that more Good can be expected from a Popish Synod, than an *English* Convocation. Did the *French* Clergy ever receive a greater Blow to their Liberties, than the Submission made to *Henry VIII.* or so great a one as the Seizure of their Lands? The Reformation owed nothing to the good Intentions of King *Henry*: He was only an Instrument of it (as the Logicians speak) by Accident; nor doth he appear throughout his whole Reign, to have had any other Views, than those of gratifying his insatiable Love of Power, Cruelty, Oppression, and other irregular Appetites. But this Kingdom, as well as many other Parts of *Europe*, was at that Time generally weary of the Corruptions and Impositions of the *Roman* Court and Church; and disposed to receive those Doctrines, which *Luther* and his Followers had universally spread. *Cranmer* the Archbishop, *Crumwell*, and others of the Court, did secretly embrace the Reformation; and the King's abrogating the *Pope's* Supremacy, made the People in general run into the new Doctrines with greater Freedom, because they hoped to be supported in it by the *Authority and Example* of their *Prince*; who disappointed them so far, that he made no other Step, than rejecting the *Pope's* Supremacy, as a Clog upon his own Power and Passions; but retained every Corruption beside, and became a cruel Persecutor, as well of those

those who denied his own Supremacy, as of all others who professed any Protestant Doctrine. Neither hath any Thing disgusted me more in reading the Histories of those Times, than to see one of the worst Princes of any Age or Country, celebrated as an Instrument in that glorious Work of the Reformation.

THE B—p having gone over all the Matters that properly fall within his *Introduction*, proceeds to expostulate with several Sorts of People: First, with *Protestants*, who are no *Christians*, such as *Atheists*, *Deists*, *Free-thinkers*, and the like Enemies to Christianity: But these he treats with the Tenderness of a Friend, because they are all of them of sound Whig Principles in Church and State. However, to do him Justice, he lightly toucheth some old Topicks for the Truth of the Gospel; and concludes by *wishing that the Free-thinkers would consider well, if (Anglice, whether) they think it is possible to bring a Nation to be without any Religion at all; and what the Consequences of that may prove; and, in Case they allow the Negative, he gives it clearly for Christianity.*

SECONDLY, He applieth himself (if I take his Meaning right) to Christian Papists, *who have a Taste of Liberty*; and desires them to *compare the Absurdities of their own Religion with the Reasonableness of the Reformed*: Against which, as good Luck would have it, I have nothing to object.

THIRDLY, He is somewhat rough against his own Party; *who having tasted the Sweetness of Protestant Liberty, can look back so tamely on Popery coming on them*; it looks as if they were bewitched, or that the Devil were in them, to be so negligent. *It is not enough, that they resolve not to turn Papists themselves: They ought to awaken all about them,*
even

even the most ignorant and stupid, to apprehend their Danger, and to exert themselves with their utmost Industry to guard against it, and to resist it. If after all their Endeavours to prevent it, the Corruption of the Age, and the Art and Power of our Enemies, prove too hard for us; then, and not until then, we must submit to the Will of God, and be silent; and prepare ourselves for all the Extremities of Suffering and of Misery; with a great deal more of the same Strain.

WITH due Submission to the profound Sagacity of this P--l-e, who can smell *Popery* at five hundred Miles distance, better than *Fanaticism* just under his Nose; I take leave to tell him, that this Reproof to his Friends, for want of Zeal and Clamour against *Popery*, *Slavery*, and the *Pretender*, is what they have not deserved. Are the Pamphlets and Papers daily published by the sublime Authors of his Party, full of any Thing else? Are not the QUEEN, the Ministers, the Majority of Lords and Commons, loudly taxed in print with this Charge against them at full Length? Is it not the perpetual Echo of every Whig Coffee-house and Club? Have they not quartered *Popery* and the *Pretender* upon the Peace and Treaty of Commerce; upon the possessing, and quitting, and keeping, and demolishing of *Dunkirk*? Have they not clamoured because the *Pretender* continued in *France*, and because he left it? Have they not reported, that the Town swarmed with many thousand *Papists*; when upon Search, there were never found so few of that Religion in it before? If a Clergyman preacheth Obedience to the higher Powers, is he not immediately traduced as a *Papist*? Can mortal Man do more? To deal plainly, my L---d, your Friends are not strong enough yet to make an Insurrection,

urrection, and it is unreasonable to expect one from them, until their Neighbours be ready.

MY L—d, I have a little Seriousness at Heart upon this *Point*, where your Lordship *affects* to shew so *much*. When you can prove, that one single Word hath ever dropt from any Minister of State, in *publick* or *private*, in Favour of the *Pretender*, or his Cause; when you can make it appear, that in the Course of this Administration, since the QUEEN thought fit to change her Servants, there hath one Step been made towards weakening the *Hanover* Title, or giving the least Countenance to any other whatsoever; then, and not until then, go dry your Chaff and Stubble, give Fire to the Zeal of your Faction, and reproach them with Luke-warmness.

FOURTHLY, The B—p applies himself to the Tories in general; taking it for granted, after his charitable Manner, that they are all ready prepared to introduce *Popery*: He puts an Excuse into their Mouths, by which they would endeavour to justify their Change of Religion: *Popery is not what it was before the Reformation: Things are now much mended; and further Corrections might be expected, if we would enter into a Treaty with them: In particular, they see the Error of proceeding severely with Heretics; so that there is no Reason to apprehend the Returns of such Cruelties as were practised an Age and a Half ago.*

THIS he assures us, is a Plea, offered by the Tories, in defense of themselves, for going about at this Juncture to establish the Popish Religion among us; What Argument doth he bring to prove the Fact itself? *Quibus indicis, quo teste probavit? Nil horum; Verbosa & grandis epistola venit.* Nothing but this tedious *Introduction*, wherein he supposeth it all along as a Thing granted. That there

might be a perfect Union in the whole Christian Church, is a Blessing which every good Man wisheth, but no reasonable Man can hope. That the more polite Roman Catholicks have in several Places given up some of their superstitious Fopperies, particularly concerning *Legends, Relicks*, and the like, is what no Body denies. But the material Points in difference between us and them, are universally retained and asserted in all their controversial Writings. And, if his L——p really thinks, that every Man who differs from him under the Name of a Tory in some Church and State Opinions, is ready to believe *Transubstantiation, Purgatory, the Infallibility* of Pope or Councils, to worship Saints and Angels, and the like; I can only pray God to enlighten his Understanding, or graft in his Heart the first Principles of Charity; a Virtue which some *People* ought not by any Means wholly to renounce, *because it covereth a Multitude of Sins.*

FIFTHLY, the B——p applies himself to his own Party in both Houses of Parliament, whom he exhorts to *guard their Religion and Liberty against all Danger, at what Distance soever it may appear. If they are absent and remiss on critical Occasions*, That is to say, If they do not attend close next Sessions, to vote upon all Occasions whatsoever against the Proceedings of the QUEEN and her Ministry: Or, if any Views of Advantage to themselves prevail on them; In other Words, If any of them vote for the Bill of Commerce, in hopes of a Place, or a Pension, a Title, or a Garter; *God may work a Deliverance for us another Way*; That is to say, by inviting the Dutch: *But they and their Families*; i. e. Those who are negligent or Revolters, *shall perish*; by which is meant; they shall be hanged as well as the present Ministry

Ministry and their Abettors, as soon as we recover our Power. *Because they let in Idolatry, Superstition, and Tyranny.* Because they stood by and suffered the Peace to be made, the Bill of Commerce to pass, and *Dunkirk* lie undemolished longer than we expected, without raising a Rebellion.

His last Application is to the Tory Clergy, a Parcel of *blind, ignorant, dumb, sleeping, greedy, drunken Dogs.* A pretty artful Episcopal Method is this, of calling his Brethren as many injurious Names as he pleaseth. It is but quoting a Text of Scripture, where the Characters of evil Men are described, and the Thing is done; and at the same Time the Appearances of Piety and Devotion preserved. I would engage, with the Help of a good *Concordance*, and the Liberty of perverting Holy Writ, to find out as many injurious Appellations, as the *Englishman* throws out in any of his politick Papers; and apply them to those Persons, *who call Good, Evil; and Evil, Good; to those who cry without Cause, Every Man to his Tents, O Israel! And to those who curse the Queen in their Hearts!*

THESE decent Words he tells us, make up a lively Description of such Pastors, as will not study Controversy, nor know the Depths of Satan. He means, I suppose, the Controversy between us and the *Papists*; for as to the *Freebinkers* and *Dissenters* of every Denomination, they are some of the best Friends to the Cause. Now, I have been told, there is a Body of that Kind of Controversy published by the *London Divines*, which is not to be matched in the World. I believe likewise, there is a good Number of the Clergy at present, thoroughly versed in that Study; after which, I cannot but give my Judgment, that it would be a very idle Thing for Pastors in general to busy themselves

much in Disputes against *Popery*: It being a dry heavy Employment of the Mind at best; especially when, God be thanked, there is so little Occasion for it in the generality of Parishes throughout the Kingdom, and must be daily less and less by the just Severity of the Laws, and the utter Aversion of our People from that Idolatrous Superstition.

If I might be so bold to name those, who have the Honour to be of his L---p's Party, I would venture to tell him, That *Pastors* have much more Occasion to study *Controversies* against the several Classes of *Freebinkers* and *Dissenters*: The former (I beg his L---p's Pardon for saying so) being a little worse than *Papists*, and both of them more dangerous at present to our Constitution both in Church and State. Not that I think *Presbytery* so corrupt a System of Christian Religion as *Popery*; I believe it is not above one Third as bad. But I think the *Presbyterians*, and their Clans of other *Fanaticks*, of *Freebinkers* and *Albists*, that dangle after them, are as well inclined to pull down the present Establishment of Monarchy and Religion, as any Set of *Papists* in Christendom; and therefore that our Danger, as Things now stand, is infinitely greater from our Protestant Enemies; because they are much more able to ruin us, and full as willing. There is no doubt, but *Presbytery* and a Commonwealth are less formidable Evils than *Popery*, Slavery, and the Pretender; for, if the *Fanaticks* were in Power, I should be in more Apprehension of being starved than burned: But there are probably in *England* forty *Dissenters* of all Kinds, including their *Brethren* the *Freebinkers*, for one *Papist*; and allowing one *Papist* to be as terrible as three *Dissenters*, it will appear by *Arithmetick*, that we are thirteen Times and one Third more in Danger of being ruined by the latter than the former.

THE other Qualification necessary for all Pastors, if they will not be *blind, ignorant, greedy, drunken Dogs, &c.* is, *to know the Depths of Satan.* This is harder than the former; that a poor Gentleman ought not be Parson, Vicar, or Curate of a Parish, except he be cunninger than the Devil. I am afraid it will be difficult to remedy this Defect for one manifest Reason, because whoever had only half the Cunning of the Devil, would never take up with a Vicarage of ten Pounds a Year, *to live on at his Ease*, as my Lord expresseth it; but seek out for some better Livelihood. His Lordship is of a Nation very much distinguished for that Quality of *Cunning* (although they have a great many better) and I think he was never accused for wanting his Share. However, upon a Tryal of Skill, I would venture to lay six to four on the Devil's Side, who must be allowed to be at least the older *Practitioner*. *Telling Truth* shames him, and *Resistance* makes him fly: But to attempt out-witting him, is to fight him at his own Weapon, and consequently no Cunning at all. Another Thing I would observe is, that a Man may be *in the Depths of Satan*, without knowing them all; and such a Man may be so far in *Satan's Depths*, as to be out of his own. One of the *Depths of Satan* is to counterfeit an *Angel of Light*. Another, I believe, is to stir up the People against their Governors, by false Suggestions of Danger. A third, is to be a *Prompter to false Brethren*, and to send *Wolves* about in *Sheeps Clothing*. Sometimes he sends *Jesuits* about *England* in the Habit and Cant of *Fanaticks*; at other Times he hath *Fanatick Missionaries* in the Habits of ——— I shall mention but one more of *Satan's Depths*; for I confess I know not the Hundredth Part of them; and that is to employ his Emissaries in cry-

ing out against remote imaginary Dangers, by which we may be taken off from defending ourselves against those, which are really just at our Elbows.

BUT his Lordship draws towards a Conclusion, and bids us *look about, to consider the Danger we are in, before it is too late*; for he assures us, we are already going into some of the worst Parts of Popery; like the Man, who was so much in haste for his new Coat, that he put it on the wrong Side out. *Auricular Confession, Priestly Absolution, and the Sacrifice of the Mass*, have made great Progress in England, and no Body hath observed it: Several other *Papish Points* are carried higher with us, than by the *Priests themselves*. And some Body it seems had the *Impudence to propose an Union with the Gallican Church*. I have indeed heard that Mr. *Lestly* published a Discourse to that Purpose, which I have never seen; nor do I perceive the Evil in *proposing an Union* between any two Churches in *Christendom*. Without doubt, Mr. *Lestly* is most unhappily misled in his Politicks; but if he be the Author of the late Tract against *Popery*, he hath given the World such a Proof of his Soundness in Religion, as many a *Bishop* ought to be proud of. I never saw the Gentleman in my Life: I know he is the Son of a great and excellent Prelate, who, upon several Accounts, was one of the most extraordinary Men of his Age. Mr. *Lestly* hath written many useful Discourses upon several Subjects, and hath so well deserved of the Christian Religion, and the Church of *England* in particular, that to accuse him of *Impudence for proposing an Union* in two very different Faiths, is a Style which I hope few will imitate. I detest Mr. *Lestly's* Political Principles as much as his L——p can do for his Heart; but I verily believe

lieve he acts from a mistaken Conscience, and therefore I distinguish between the Principles and the Person. However, it is some Mortification to me, when I see an *avowed Nonjuror* contribute more to the confounding of *Popery*, than could ever be done by a hundred thousand such *Introductions* as this.

His L——p ends with discovering a small Ray of Comfort. *God be thanked there are many among us that stand upon the Watch Tower, and that give faithful Warning; that stand in the Breach, and make themselves a Wall for their Church and Country; that cry to God Day and Night, and lie in the Dust mourning before him, to avert those Judgments that seem to hasten towards us. They search into the Mystery of Iniquity that is working among us, and acquaint themselves with all that Mass of Corruption that is in Popery.* He prays, *That the Number of these may increase, and that he may be of that Number, ready either to die in Peace, or to seal that Doctrine he hath been preaching above fifty Years, with his Blood.* This being his last Paragraph, I have made bold to transcribe the most important Part of it. His Design is to end after the Manner of Orators, with leaving the strongest Impression possible upon the Minds of his Hearers. A great *Breach* is made; *the Mystery of Popish Iniquity is working among us; may God avert those Judgments that are hastening toward us!* I am an old Man, a *Preacher above fifty Years*, and I now expect and am ready to die a Martyr for the Doctrines I have preached. What an amiable Idea doth he here leave upon our Minds, of Her Majesty, and Her Government! He hath been poring so long upon *Fox's Book of Martyrs*, that he imagines himself living in the Reign of *Queen Mary*, and is resolved to set up for a *Knight Errant* against *Popery*. Upon the Supposition of his being in Earnest (which

I am sure he is not) it would require but a very little more Heat of Imagination, to make a History of such a Knight's Adventures. What would he say, to behold the *Fires kindled in Smithfield, and all over the Town*, on the seventeenth of November; to behold the *Pope* borne in Triumph on the Shoulders of the People, with a *Cardinal on the one Side, and the Pretender on the other*? He would never believe it was Queen *Elizabeth's* Day, but that of her persecuting Sister: In short, how easily might a *Windmill* be taken for the *Whore of Babylon*, and a *Puppet-Show* for a Popish Procession?

BUT *Enthusiasm* is none of his L——p's Faculty: I am inclined to believe he might be melancholy enough when he writ this *Introduction*: The Despair at his Age of seeing a Faction restored, to which he hath sacrificed so great a Part of his Life: The little Success he can hope for in Case he should resume those High Church Principles, in the Defense of which he first employed his Pen: No visible Expectation of removing to *Farnham* or *Lambeth*: And lastly, the Misfortune of being hated by every one, who either wears the Habit, or values the Profession of a Clergyman: No wonder such a Spirit, in such a Situation, is provoked beyond the Regards of Truth, Decency, Religion, or Self-conviction. To do him Justice, he seems to have nothing else left, but to cry out *Halters, Gibbets, Faggots, Inquisition, Popery, Slavery, and the Pretender*. But in the mean Time, he little considers what a World of Mischief he doth to his Cause. It is very convenient, for the present Designs of that Faction, to spread the Opinion of our immediate Danger from *Popery* and the *Pretender*. His Directors therefore ought, in my humble Opinion, to have employed his L——p in publishing a Book, wherein he should

should have asserted, by the most solemn Affirmations, that all Things were safe and well: For, the World hath contracted so strong a Habit of believing him backwards, that I am confident nine Parts in ten of those who have read or heard of his *Introduction*, have slept in greater Security ever since. It is like the melancholy Tone of a Watchman at Midnight, who thumps with his Pole, as if some Thief were breaking in; but you know by the Noise, that the Door is fast.

HOWEVER, he thanks God, there are many among us who stand in the Breach: I believe they may; it is a Breach of their own making, and they design to come forward, and storm and plunder, if they be not driven back. They make themselves a Wall for their Church and Country. A South Wall, I suppose, for all the best Fruit of the Church and Country to be nailed on. Let us examine this Metaphor: The Wall of our Church and Country is built of those who love the Constitution in both. Our domestic Enemies undermine some Parts of the Wall, and place themselves in the Breach; and then they cry, *We are the Wall*. We do not like such Patch-Work; they build with untempered Mortar; nor can they ever cement with us, till they get better Materials and better Workmen: God keep us from having our Breaches made up with such Rubbish. They stand upon the Watchtower! They are indeed pragmatical enough to do so; but who assigned them that Post, to give us false Intelligence, to alarm us with false Dangers, and send us to defend one Gate, while their Accomplices are breaking in at another? They cry to God Day and Night to avert the Judgment of Popery, which seems to hasten towards us. Then I affirm, they are Hypocrites by Day, and filthy Dreamers by Night.

Night. When they cry unto him, he will not hear them: For they cry against the plainest Dictates of their own Conscience, Reason, and Belief.

But lastly, *They lie in the Dust, mourning before him.* Hang me, if I believe that, unless it be figuratively spoken. But suppose it to be true, Why do *they lie in the Dust?* Because they love to raise it; for what do *they mourn?* Why, for Power, Wealth, and Places. There let the Enemies of the QUEEN and Monarchy, and the Church *lie and mourn,* and *lick the Dust like Serpents,* till they are truly sensible of their Ingratitude, Falshood, Disobedience, Slander, Blasphemy, Sedition, and every evil Work.

I CANNOT find in my Heart to conclude without offering his L——p a little humble Advice upon some certain Points.

FIRST, I would advise him, if it be not too late in his Life, to endeavour a little at mending his Style, which is mighty defective in the *Circumstances* of Grammar, Propriety, Politeness, and Smoothness. I fancied at first, it might be owing to the Prevalence of his Passion, as People sputter out Nonsense for Haste, when they are in a Rage. And indeed, I believe this Piece before me hath received some additional Imperfections from that Occasion. But whoever hath heard his Sermons, or read his other Tracts, will find him very unhappy in the Choice and Disposition of his Words, and, for want of Variety, repeating them, especially the Particles, in a Manner very grating to an *English* Ear. But I confine myself to this *Introduction*, as his last Work, where endeavouring at Rhetorical *Flowers*, he gives us only Bunches of THISTLES;
of

of which I could present the Reader with a plentiful Crop; but I refer him to every Page and Line of the Pamphlet itself.

SECONDLY, I would most humbly advise his Lordship to examine a little into the Nature of Truth, and sometimes to hear what *She* says. I shall produce two Instances among an hundred. When he asserts, That we are *now in more Danger of Popery than towards the End of King Charles the Second's Reign*; and gives the broadest Hints, that the QUEEN, the Ministry, the Parliament, and the Clergy are just going to introduce it; I desire to know, whether he really thinks *Truth* is of his Side, or whether he be not sure *She* is against him: If the latter, then *Truth* and he will be found in two different Stories; and which are we to believe? Again, when he gravely advises the Tories not to *light the Fires in Smithfield*; and goes on in twenty Places already quoted, as if the Bargain were made for *Popery* and *Slavery* to enter: I ask again, whether he hath rightly considered the Nature of *Truth*? I desire to put a parallel Case. Suppose his L——p should take it into his Fancy to write and publish a Letter to any Gentleman of no infamous Character for his Religion or Morals; and there advise him with great Earnestness, not to rob or fire Churches, ravish his Daughter, or murder his Father; shew him the Sin and the Danger of these Enormities; that, if he flattered himself he could escape in Disguise, or bribe his Jury, he was grievously mistaken: That he must in all Probability forfeit his Goods and Chattles, die an ignominious Death, and be curst by Posterity: Would not such a Gentleman justly think himself highly injured, although his L——p did not affirm, that the said Gentleman had Picklocks or Combustibles ready? that he
had

had attempted his Daughter, and drawn his Sword against his Father in order to stab him? Whereas in the other Case, this Writer affirms over and over, that all Attempts for introducing Popery and Slavery are already made, the whole Business concerted, and that little less than a Miracle can prevent our Ruin.

THIRDLY, I could heartily wish his Lordship would not undertake to charge the Opinions of one or two, and those probably Nonjurors, upon the whole Body of the Nation, that differs from him. Mr. Lessly writ a *Proposal for an Union with the Gallican Church*; somebody else hath carried the Necessity of Priesthood in the Point of Baptism farther than Popery: A third hath asserted the Independence of the Church on the State, and in many things arraigned the Supremacy of the Crown: Then he speaks in a dubious insinuating Way, as if some other Popish Tenets had been already advanced: And at last concludes in this affected Strain of Despondency: *What will all these Things end in? And on what Design are they driven? Alas, it is too visible!* It is as clear as the Sun, that these Authors are encouraged by the Ministry with a Design to bring in Popery; and in Popery all these Things will End.

I NEVER was so uncharitable to believe, That the whole Party, of which his Lordship professeth himself a Member, had a well formed Design of establishing *Atheism* among us. The Reason why the *Whigs* have taken the *Atheists* or *Freethinkers* into their Body, is because they wholly agree in their political Schemes, and differ very little in Church Power and Discipline. However I could turn the Argument against his Lordship with very great Advantage, by quoting Passages from fifty Pamphlets wholly made up of *Whigism* and *Atheism*,
 bad and

and then conclude: *What will all these things end in? And on what Design are they driven? Alas, it is too visible!*

LASTLY, I would beg his L——p not to be so exceedingly outrageous upon the Memory of the Dead; because it is highly probable, that in a very short Time he will be one of the Number. He hath in plain Words given Mr. *Wharton* the Character of a most malicious, revengeful, treacherous, lying, mercenary Villain. To which I shall only say, That the direct Reverse of this amiable Description, is what appears from the Works of that most learned Divine; and from the Accounts given me by those, who knew him much better than the B—p seems to have done. I meddle not with the moral Part of this Treatment. God Almighty forgive his L——p this Manner of revenging himself: And then there will be but little Consequence from an Accusation, which the *Dead* cannot feel, and which none of the *Living* will believe.

and then conclude: "What a world of
wonder and glory is there in
this little world of ours!"
I am sure, I would not be
exceedingly surprised, were the
Dead, however it is called, to
appear to me to be one of the
path to this World of ours. I
rather of a different kind, to
live, a creature, William, to
live, I am the direct result of
inspiration, which appears in
most of our lives; and that the
most of our lives, who know
us as by these, who know us
as by these, I should not wish
the most part of this I am sure.
forgive me, I am the result of
himself: And then there will
be a question, which the Dead
not see, and which none of the
living will believe.

THE
PRESBYTERIANS
PLEA of MERIT

In order to take off the

T E S T,

IMPARTIALLY EXAMINED.

THE

PRESBYTERIAN

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T H E

P R E S B Y T E R I A N S P L E A

O F

M E R I T, &c.

WE have been told in the common News Papers, that all Attempts are to be made this Session by the *Presbyterians*, and their Abettors, for taking off the Test; as a kind of preparatory Step, to make it go down smoother in *England*. For, if once *their Light would so shine*, the *Papists*, delighted with the Blaze, would all come in, and dance about it. This I take to be a prudent Method; like that of a discreet Physician, who first gives a new Medicine to a *Dog*, before he prescribes it to a human Creature.

The *Presbyterians* have, ever since the Revolution, directed the learned Casuists to employ their Pens on this Subject; by shewing the Merits and Pretensions, upon which they claim this *Justice*; as founded upon the Services they did towards the Restoration of King *Charles the Second*; and at the *Revolution*, under the Prince of *Orange*. Which Pleas I take to be the most singular, in their Kind,

that ever were offered in the Face of the Sun, against the most glaring Light of Truth, and against a Continuation of publick Facts, known to all *Europe* for twenty Years together. I shall, therefore, impartially examine the Merits and Conduct of the *Presbyterians*, upon those two great Events; and the Pretensions to Favour, which they challenge upon them.

SOON after the Reformation of the Church in *England*, under *Edward* the Sixth, upon *Queen Mary's* succeeding to the Crown, who restored *Popery*, many *Protestants* fled out of *England*, to escape the Persecution raised against the Church, as her Brother had left it established. Some of these Exiles went to *Geneva*; which City had received the Doctrine of *Calvin*, and rejected the Government of Bishops; with many other Refinements. These *English* Exiles readily embraced the *Geneva* System; and having added further Improvements of their own, upon *Queen Mary's* Death, returned to *England*; where they preached up their new Opinions; inveighing bitterly against *Episcopacy*, and all Rites and Ceremonies, however innocent and ancient in the Church: Building upon this Foundation; to run as far as possible from *Popery*, even in the most minute and indifferent Circumstances. This Faction, under the Name of *Puritan*, became very turbulent, during the whole Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, and were always discouraged by that wise Queen, as well as by her two Successors. However, their Numbers, as well as their Insolence and Perverseness, so far increased, that soon after the Death of King *James* the First, many Instances of their Petulancy and Scurrility are to be seen in their Pamphlets, written for some Years after; which was a Trade they began in the Days of
Queen

Queen *Elizabeth*: Particularly with great Rancour against the Bishops, the Habits, and the Ceremonies: Such were those scurrilous Libels under the Title of *Martin Mar-Prelate*, and several others. And, although the Earl of *Clarendon* tells us, until the Year 1640 (as I remember) the Kingdom was in a State of perfect Peate and Happines, without the least Appearance of Thought or Design, towards making any Alterations in Religion or Government; yet I have found, by often rumaging for old Books in *Little Britain* and *Duck-lane*, a great Number of Pamphlets printed from the Year 1630. to 1640. full of as bold and impious railing Expressions, against the lawful Power of the Crown, and the Order of Bishops, as ever were uttered during the Rebellion, or the whole subsequent Tyranny of that Fanatick Anarchy. However, I find it manifest, that *Puritanism* did not erect itself into a new separate Species of Religion, till some Time after the Rebellion began. For, in the latter Times of King *James* the First, and the former Part of his Son, there were several *Puritan* Bishops, and many *Puritan* private Clergymen; while People went, as their Inclinations led them, to hear Preachers of each Party in the Parish Churches. For the *Puritan* Clergy had received Episcopal Orders as well as the rest. But, soon after the Rebellion broke out, the Term *Puritan* gradually dropt, and that of *Presbyterian* succeeded; which Sect was, in two or three Years, established in all its Forms, by what they call an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons, without consulting the King, who was then at War against his Rebels. And from this Period the Church continued under Persecution, until Monarchy was restored in the Year 1660.

IN a Year or two after, we began to hear of a new Party risen, and growing in the Parliament, as well as the Army, under the Name of *Independent*: It spread, indeed, somewhat more in the latter; but not equal with the *Presbyterians*, either in Weight or Number, until some Time before the King was murdered.

WHEN the King, who was then a Prisoner in the Isle of *Wight*, had made his last Concessions for a Peace to the Commissioners of the Parliament, who attended him there; upon their Return to *London*, they reported his Majesty's Answer in the House. Whereupon a Number of moderate Members, who, as *Ludlow* says, had secured their own Terms with that Prince, managed with so much Art, as to obtain a Majority, in a thin House, for passing a Vote, that *the King's Concessions were a Ground for a future Settlement*. But the great Officers of the Army, joining with the discontented Members, came to a Resolution, of excluding all those who had consented to that Vote; which they executed in a military Way. *Ireton* told *Fairfax* the General, a rigid *Presbyterian*, of this Resolution; who thereupon issued his Orders for drawing out the Army the next Morning, and placing Guards in *Westminster Hall*, the *Court of Requests*, and the *Lobby*; who, in Obedience to the General, in Conjunction with those Members who had opposed the Vote, would let no Member enter the House, except those of their own Party. Upon which, the Question for bringing the King to Justice, was immediately put and carried, without Opposition, that I can find. Then, an Order was made for his Trial; the Time and Place appointed; the Judges named; of whom *Fairfax* himself was one; although by the Advice, or Threats

Threats of his Wife, he declined sitting among them. However, by fresh Orders under his own Hand, which I have seen in Print, he appointed Guards to attend the Judges at the Trial, and to keep the City in Quiet; as he did likewise to prevent any Opposition from the People, upon the Day of Execution.

FROM what I have already deduced, it appears manifest, that the Differences between those two Sects, *Presbyterian* and *Independent*, did not then amount to half so much as what there is between a *Whig* and *Tory* at present among us. The Design of utterly extirpating Monarchy and Episcopacy, was equally the same in both; evidently the Consequence of the very same Principles, upon which the *Presbyterians* alone began, continued, and would have ended in the same Events; if towards the Conclusion they had not been bearded by that new Party, with whom they could not agree about dividing the Spoil. However, they held a good Share of Civil and Military Employments during the whole Time of the Usurpation; whose Names, and Actions, and Preferments, are frequent in the Accounts of those Times. For, I make no Doubt, that all the prudent *Presbyterians* complied in proper Seasons, falling in with the Stream; and thereby got that Share in Employments, which many of them held to the Restoration; and, perhaps, too many of them after. In the same Manner, we find our wisest *Tories*, in both Kingdoms, upon the Change of Hands and Measures at the Queen's Death, have endeavoured for several Years, by due Compliances, to recover the Time they had lost by a temporary Obstinacy; wherein they have well succeeded, according to their Degrees of Merit. Of whose Names I could here make honour-

able to mention, if I did not fear it might offend their Modesty.

As to what is alledged, that some of the *Presbyterians* declared openly against the King's Murder; I allow it to be true. But, from what Motives? No other can possibly be assigned than perfect Spight, Rage, and Envy, to find themselves wormed out of all Power, by a new Infant Spawn of *Independents*, sprung from their own Bowels. It is true, the Differences in religious Tenets between them, are very few and trifling; the chief Quarrel, as far as I remember, relating to Congregational and National Assemblies. But, wherever Interest or Power think fit to interfere, it little imports what Principles the opposite Parties think fit to charge upon each other: For, we see, at this Day, that the *Tories* are more hated by the whole Set of zealous *Whigs*, than the very *Papists* themselves; and, in Effect, as much unqualified for the smallest Office: Although, both these Parties assert themselves to be of the same Religion, in all its Branches of Doctrine and Discipline; and profess the same Loyalty to the same *Protestant* King, and his Heirs.

If the Reader would know what became of this *Independent* Party, upon whom all the Mischief is charged by their *Presbyterian* Brethren; he may please to observe, that during the whole Usurpation, they contended by Degrees with their Parent Sect, and, as I have already said, shared in Employments; and gradually, after the Restoration, mingled with the Mass of *Presbyterians*; lying ever since undistinguished in the Herd of *Dissenters*.

The *Presbyterian* Merit is of as little Weight, when they alledge themselves instrumental towards the King's Restoration. The Kingdom grew tired with

with those ridiculous Models of Government: First, by a House of Lords and Commons, without a King; then without Bishops; afterwards by a Rump and Lords Temporal; then by a Rump alone: Next, by a single Person for Life, in Conjunction with a Council: by Agitators; by Major-Generals; by a new kind of Representatives from the three Kingdoms; by the Keepers of the Liberties of *England*; with other Schemes that have slipped out of my Memory. *Cromwell* was dead; his Son *Richard*, a weak, ignorant Wretch, who gave up his Monarchy much in the same Manner with the two usurping Kings of *Brentford*. The People, harassed with Taxes, and other Oppressions; the King's Party, then called the *Cavaliers*, began to recover their Spirits. The few Nobility scattered through the Kingdom, who lived in a most retired Manner, observing the Confusion of Things, could no longer endure to be ridden by Bakers, Cobblers, Brewers, and the like, at the Head of Armies; and plundering every where like *French* Dragoons: The *Rump* Assembly grew despicable to those who had raised them. The City of *London*, exhausted by almost twenty Years contributing to their own Ruin, declared against them. The *Rump*, after many Deaths and Resurrections, was, in the most contemptuous Manner, kick'd out, and burnt in Effigy. The excluded Members were let in: A free Parliament called in as legal a Manner as the Times would allow; and the King restored.

THE second Claim of *Presbyterian* Merit is founded upon their Services against the dangerous Designs of King *James* the Second; while that Prince was using all his Endeavours to introduce *Papery*, which he openly professed upon his coming

to the Crown: To this they add, their eminent Services at the Revolution, under the Prince of *Orange*.

Now, the *Quantum* of *Presbyterian* Merit, during the four Years Reign of that weak, bigotted, and ill advised Prince, as well as at the Time of the Revolution, will easily be computed, by a Recourse to a great Number of Histories, Pamphlets, and publick Papers, printed in those Times, and some afterwards; beside the Verbal Testimonies of many Persons yet alive, who are old enough to have known and observed the *Dissenters* Conduct in that critical Period.

It is agreed, that upon King *Charles* the Second's Death, soon after his Successor had publickly owned himself a *Roman Catholick*; he began with his first Caresses to the Church Party; from whom having received very cold discouraging Answers; he applied to the *Presbyterian* Leaders and Teachers; being advised by his Priests and *Popish* Courtiers, that the safest Method towards introducing his own Religion, would be by taking off the *Sacramental Test*, and giving a full Liberty of Conscience to all Religions (I suppose that professed Christianity.) It seems, that the *Presbyterians*, in the latter Years of King *Charles* the Second, upon Account of certain Plots (allowed by Bishop *Burnet* to be genuine) had been, for a short Time, forbid to hold their Conventicles. Whereupon, these charitable *Christians*, out of perfect Resentment against the Church, received the gracious Offers of King *James* with the strongest Professions of Loyalty, and highest Acknowledgments for his Favour. I have seen several of their Addresses, full of Thanks and Praises, with bitter Insinuations of what they had suffered; putting themselves and the

the *Papists* upon the same Foot; as Fellow Sufferers for Conscience; and with the Style of, *Our Brethren the Roman Catholicks*. About this Time began the Project of *Clofeting* (which hath since been practised many Times with more Art and Success) where the principal Gentlemen of the Kingdom were privately catechised by his Majesty, to know whether, if a new Parliament were called, they would agree to pass an Act for repealing the *Sacramental Test*, and establishing a general Liberty of Conscience. But he received so little Encouragement, that, despairing of Success, he had Recourse to his dispensing Power, which the Judges had determined to be Part of his Prerogative. By Colour of this Determination, he preferred several *Presbyterians*, and many *Papists*, to Civil and Military Employments. While the King was thus busied, it is well known that Monsieur *Fagel*, the *Dutch* Envoy in *London*, delivered the Opinion of the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, concerning the Repeal of the *Test*; whereof the King had sent an Account to their Highnesses, to know how far they approved of it. The Substance of their Answer, as reported by *Fagel*, was this, *That their Highnesses thought very well of a Liberty of Conscience; but by no Means of giving Employments to any other Persons than those who were of the National Church*. This Opinion was confirmed by several Reasons: I cannot be more particular, not having the Paper by me, although it hath been printed in many Accounts of those Times. And thus much every moderate Churchman would perhaps submit to: But to trust any Part of the Civil Power in the Hands of those, whose Interest, Inclination, Conscience, and former Practices have been wholly turned to introduce a different System of Religion
and

and Government, hath very few Examples in any Christian State; nor any at all in *Holland*, the great Patroness of universal Toleration.

UPON the first Intelligence King *James* received of an intended Invasion by the Prince of *Orange*; among great Numbers of *Papists*, to increase his Troops, he gave Commissions to several *Presbyterians*; some of whom had been Officers under the *Rump*; and particularly he placed one *Richards*, a noted *Presbyterian*, at the Head of a Regiment, who had been Governor of *Wexford* in *Cromwell's* Time, and is often mentioned by *Ludlow* in his *Memoirs*. This Regiment was raised in *England* against the Prince of *Orange*: The Colonel made his Son a Captain, whom I knew, and was as zealous a *Presbyterian* as his Father. However, at the Time of the Prince's Landing, the Father, easily foreseeing how Things would go, went over, like many others, to the Prince, who continued him in his Regiment; but coming over a Year or two after, to assist in raising the Siege of *Derry*, he behaved himself so like either a Coward or a Traytor, that his Regiment was taken from him.

I WILL now consider the Conduct of the Church Party during the whole Reign of that unfortunate King. They were so unanimous against promising to pass an Act for repealing the Test, and establishing a general Liberty of Conscience; that the King durst not trust a Parliament; but encouraged by the Professions of Loyalty given him by his *Presbyterian* Friends, went on with his dispensing Power.

THE Church Clergy at that Time are allowed to have written the best Collection of Tracts against *Papery* that ever appeared in *England*; which are
to

to this Day in the highest Esteem. But, upon the strictest Enquiry, I could never hear of above one or two Papers published by the *Presbyterians* at that Time upon the same Subject. Seven great Prelates (he of *Canterbury* among the rest) were sent to the Tower, for presenting a Petition, wherein they desired to be excused in not obeying an illegal Command from the King. The Bishop of *London*, Dr. *Compton*, was summoned to answer before the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Affairs, for not suspending Dr. *Sharp* (afterwards Archbishop of *York*) by the King's Command. If the *Presbyterians* expressed the same Zeal upon any Occasion, the Instances of it are not, as I can find, left upon Record, or transmitted by Tradition. The Proceedings against *Magdalen College* in *Oxford*, for refusing to comply with the King's Mandate for admitting a professed *Papist* upon their Foundation, are a standing Proof of the Courage and Firmness in Religion shewn by that learned Society, to the Ruin of their Fortunes. The *Presbyterians* know very well, that I could produce many more Instances of the same Kind. But these are enough in so short a Paper as I intend at present.

It is indeed very true, that after King *William* was settled on the *English* Throne, the *Presbyterians* began to appear, and offer their Credentials, and demand Favour: And, the new King having been originally bred a *Calvinist*, was desirous enough to make them easy (if that would do it) by a legal Toleration; although in his Heart he never bore much Affection to that Sect; nor designed to favour them further than as it stood with the present Scheme of Politicks: As I have long since been assured by the greatest Men of Whig Principles at that Time in *England*.

It is likewise true, nor will be denied; that when the King was possessed of the *English* Crown; and the Remainder of the Quarrel was left to be decided in this Kingdom; the *Presbyterians* wisely chose to join with the *Protestant* Army, rather than with that of King *James* their old Friend, whose Affairs were then in a Manner desperate. They were wise enough to know, that this Kingdom, divided against itself, could never prevail against the united Power of *England*. They fought *pro aris & focis*; for their Estates and Religion; which latter will never suffer so much by the Church of *England*, as by that of *Rome*, where they are counted Hereticks as well as we: And consequently they have no other Game to play. But, what Merit they can build upon having joined with a *Protestant* Army, under a King they acknowledged, to defend their own Liberties and Properties against a *Popish* Enemy under an abdicated King; is, I confess, to me absolutely inconceivable; and, I believe, will equally be so for ever, to any reasonable Man.

WHEN these Sectaries were several Years ago making the same Attempt for abolishing the Test, many groundless Reports were industriously and seasonably spread of an Invasion threatened by the *Pretender*, on the North of *Ireland*. At which Time the *Presbyterians* in their Pamphlets argued in a menacing Manner, that if the *Pretender* should invade those Parts of the Kingdom, where the Numbers and Estates of the Dissenters chiefly lay; they would sit still, and *let us fight our own Battles*; since they were to reap no Advantage, which ever Side should be Victors. If this were the Course they intended to take in such a Case; I desire to know, how they could contrive safely to stand Neuters, otherwise than by a Compact with the *Pretender*

Pretender and his Army, to support their Neutrality, and protect them against the Forces of the Crown? This is a necessary Supposition; because they must else have inevitably been a Prey to both. However, by this frank Declaration, they sufficiently shewed their good Will; and confirmed the common Charge laid at their Door; that a *Scottish* or Northern *Presbyterian* hates our Episcopal Established Church, more than *Popery* itself. And, the Reason for this Hatred, is natural enough; because it is the Church alone, that stands in the Way between them, and Power; which *Popery* doth not.

UPON this Occasion I am in some doubt, whether the political Spreaders of those chimerical Invasions, made a judicious Choice in fixing the Northern Parts of *Ireland* for that romantick Enterprize. Nor can I well understand the Wisdom of the *Presbyterians* in countenancing and confirming those Reports. Because, it seems to cast a most infamous Reflection upon the Loyalty and religious Principles of their whole Body: For, if there had been any Truth in the Matter, the Consequence must have been allowed, that the *Pretender* counted upon more Assistance from his Father's Friends the *Presbyterians*, by chusing to land in those very Parts, where their Number, Wealth, and Power most prevailed; rather than among those of his own Religion. And therefore, in Charity to this Sect, I rather encline to believe, that those Reports of an Invasion were formed and spread by the Race of small Politicians, in order to do a seasonable Jobb.

As to *Popery* in general, which for a thousand Years past hath been introducing and multiplying Corruptions both in Doctrine and Discipline; I look upon it to be the most absurd System of Christianity

stianity professed by any Nation. But I cannot apprehend this Kingdom to be in much Danger from it. The Estates of Papists are very few; crumbling into small Parcels, and daily diminishing. Their common People are sunk in Poverty, Ignorance, and Cowardice; and of as little Consequence as Women and Children. Their Nobility and Gentry are at least by one half ruined, banished, or converted: They all soundly feel the Smart of what they suffered in the last *Irish* War: Some of them are already retired into foreign Countries; others, as I am told, intend to follow them; and the rest, I believe, to a Man, who still possess any Lands, are absolutely determined never to hazard them again, for the Sake of establishing their Superstition. If it hath been thought fit, as some observe, to abate of the Laws Rigour against *Popery* in this Kingdom, I am confident it was done for very wise Reasons, considering the Situation of Affairs abroad at different Times, and the Interest of the *Protestant* Religion in general. And, as I do not find the least Fault in this Proceeding; so I do not conceive why a sunk discarded Party, who neither expect nor desire any Thing more than a quiet Life; should, under the Names of *High-flyers*, *Jacobites*, and many other vile Appellations, be charged so often in Print, and at common Tables, with endeavouring to introduce *Popery* and the *Pretender*; while the *Papists* abhor them above all other Men, on Account of Severities against their Priests in Her late Majesty's Reign; when the *now disbanded Reprobate Party* was in Power. This I was convinced of some Years ago by a long Journey into the Southern Parts; where I had the Curiosity to send for many Priests of the Parishes I passed through, and, to my great Satisfaction found them every

every where abounding in Professions of Loyalty to the late King *George*; for which they gave me the Reasons abovementioned; at the same Time complaining bitterly of the Hardships they suffered under the *QUEEN's last Ministry*.

I RETURN from this Digression to the modest Demands of the *Presbyterians* for a Repeal of the *Sacramental Test*, as a Reward for their Merits at the *Restoration*, and the *Revolution*; which Merits I have fairly represented as well as my Memory would allow me. If I have committed any Mistakes, they must be of little Moment. The Facts and principal Circumstances are what I have obtained and digested, from reading the Histories of those Times, written by each Party; and many Thousands have done the same as well as I, who I am sure have in their Minds drawn the same Conclusions.

THIS is the Faction, and these the Men who are now resuming their Applications, and giving in their Bills of Merit to both Kingdoms upon two Points, which of all others, they have the least Pretensions to offer. I have collected the Facts with all possible Impartiality, from the current Histories of those Times; and have shewn, although very briefly, the gradual Proceedings of those Sectaries under the Denominations of *Puritans*, *Presbyterians*, and *Independents*, for about the Space of an hundred and eighty Years, from the beginning of *Queen Elizabeth*, to this present Time. But, notwithstanding all that can be said, these very Schismatics (for such they are in Temporals as well as Spirituals) are now again expecting, soliciting, and demanding (not without insinuated Threats, according to their Custom) that the Parliament should fix them upon an equal Foot with the Church Established.

blished. I would fain know to what Branch of the Legislature they can have the Forehead to apply. Not to my Lords the Bishops; who must have often read, how the Predecessors of this very Faction, acting upon the same Principles, drove the whole Bench out of the House; who were then, and hitherto continue one of the three Estates. Not to the Temporal Peers, the second of the three Estates; who immediately after those rebellious Fanaticks had murdered their King, voted a House of Lords to be useless and dangerous, and would let them sit no longer, otherwise than when elected as Commoners. Not to the House of Commons, who must have heard, that in those Fanatick Times the *Presbyterian* and *Independent* Commanders in the Army, by military Power, expelled all the moderate Men out of the House, and left a *Rump* to govern the Nation. Lastly, not to the Crown, which those very *Saints* destined to *Rule the Earth*, trampled under their Feet, and then in cold Blood murdered the Blessed Wearer.

BUT, the Session now approaching, and a Clan of Dissenting Teachers come up to Town from their Northern Head Quarters, accompanied by many of their Elders and Agents, and supported by a general Contribution, to solicit their Establishment, with a Capacity of holding all Military as well as Civil Employments; I think it high Time, that this Paper should see the Light. However, I cannot conclude without freely confessing, that if the *Presbyterians* should obtain their Ends, I could not be sorry to find them mistaken in the Point which they have most at Heart, by the Repeal of the *Test*; I mean the Benefit of Employments. For, after all, what Assurance can a *Scottish* Northern Dissenter, born on *Irish* Ground, have, that he shall be
treated

treated with as much Favour as a *TRUE SCOT* born beyond the *Tweed*.

I AM ready enough to believe that all I have said will avail but little. I have the common Excuse of other Men, when I think myself bound by all religious and civil Ties, to discharge my Conscience, and to warn my Countrymen upon this important Occasion. It is true, the Advocates for this Scheme promise a new World, after this blessed Work shall be compleated; that all Animosity and Faction must immediately drop: That, the only Distinction in this Kingdom will then be of *Papist* and *Protestant*. For, as to *Whig* and *Tory*, *Highb Church* and *Low Church*, *Jacobite* and *Hanoverian*, *Court* and *Country Party*, *English* and *Irish* Interest, *Dissenters* and *Conformists*, *New Light* and *Old Light*, *Anabaptist* and *Independent*, *Quaker* and *Mugglestonian*; they will all meet and jumble together into a perfect Harmony, at the Sessions and Affizes, on the Bench and in the Revenues; and upon the Whole, in all Civil and Military Trust, not excepting the great Councils of the Nation. For, it is wisely argued thus: That, a Kingdom being no more than a larger Knot of Friends met together, it is against the Rules of good Manners to shut any Person out of the Company, except the *Papists*, who profess themselves of another Club.

I AM at a Loss to know what Arts the *Presbyterian* Sect intends to use, in convincing the World of their Loyalty to kingly Government; which long before the Prevalence, or even the Birth of their *Independent* Rivals, as soon as the King's Forces were overcome, declared their Principles to be against Monarchy, as well as Episcopacy and the House of Lords, even until the King was restored: At which Event, although they were forced to sub-

mit to the present Power, yet I have not heard that they did ever, to this Day, renounce any one Principle by which their Predecessors then acted; yet this they have been challenged to do, or at least to shew that others have done it for them, by a certain * Doctor, who, as I am told, hath much employed his Pen in the like Disputes. I own, they will be ready enough to insinuate themselves into any Government: But, if they mean to be honest and upright, they will and must endeavour by all Means, which they shall think lawful, to introduce and establish their own Scheme of Religion, as nearest approaching to the Word of God, by casting out all superstitious Ceremonies, Ecclesiastical Titles, Habits, Distinctions, and Superiorities, as Rags of Popery; in order to a *thorough Reformation*; and, as in Charity bound, to promote the Salvation of their Countrymen: Wishing with St. Paul, *That the whole Kingdom were as they are*. But, what Assurance will they please to give, that when their Sect shall become the National Established Worship, they will treat Us DISSENTERS as we have treated them. Was this their Course of Proceeding during the Dominion of the *Saints*? Were not all the Remainders of the Episcopal Church, in those Days, especially the Clergy, under a Persecution for above a dozen Years, equal to that of the Primitive Christians under Heathen Emperors? That this Proceeding was suitable to their Principles, is known enough; for many of their Preachers then writ Books expressly against allowing any Liberty of Conscience, in a Religion different from their own; producing many Arguments to prove that Opinion, and among the rest, one frequently insisted on; that, allowing such a

* *The late Dr. TISDEL, who died June, 1736.*

Liberty would be to *establish Iniquity by a Law* :

* Many of these Writings are yet to be seen; and, I hear, have been quoted by the Doctor abovementioned.

As to their great Objection of prostituting that holy Institution, the blessed Sacrament, by Way of a Test, before Admittance into any Employment; I ask, whether they would not be content to receive it *after their own Manner*, for the Office of a Judge, for that of a Commissioner in the Revenue, for a Regiment of Horse, or to be a Lord Justice. I believe they would scruple it as little, as a long Grace before and after Dinner; which they can say without *bending a Knee*. For, as I have been told, their Manner of taking Bread and Wine in their Conventicles, is performed with little more Solemnity than at their common Meals. And, therefore, since they look upon our Practice in receiving the Elements, to be idolatrous; they neither can, nor ought, in Conscience, to allow us that Liberty, otherwise than by Connivance; and a bare Toleration, like what is permitted to the *Papists*. But, *lest we should offend them*, I am ready to change this Test for another; although, I am afraid, that sanctified Reason is, by no Means, the Point where the Difficulty pinches; and only offered by pretended Churchmen, as if they could be content with our believing, that the Impiety and Prophanation of making the Sacrament a Test, were the only Objection. I therefore propose, that before the present Law be repealed, another may be enacted; that no Man shall receive any Employment, before he swears himself to be a true Member of the Church of *Ireland*, in Doctrine and Discipline, &c. And,

* See many hundred Quotations to prove this, in the Treatise called, Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence.

that he will never frequent, or communicate with any other Form of Worship. It shall likewise be further enacted, that whoever offends, &c. shall be fined five hundred Pounds, imprisoned for a Year and a Day, and rendered incapable of all publick Trust for ever. Otherwise, I do insist, that those pious, indulgent, external Professors of our National Religion, shall either give up that fallacious hypocritical Reason for taking off the Test; or freely confess, that they desire to have a Gate wide open for every Sect, without any Test at all, except that of swearing Loyalty to the King: Which, however, considering their Principles with regard to Monarchy yet unrenounced, might, if they would please to look deep enough into their own Hearts, prove a more bitter Test, than any other that the Law hath yet invented.

FOR, from the first Time that these Sectaries appeared in the World, it hath been always found, by their whole Proceeding, that they professed an utter Hatred to kingly Government. I can recollect, at present, three Civil Establishments, where *Calvinists*, and some other Reformers who rejected *Episcopacy*, possess the supreme Power; and, these are all Republicks; I mean, *Holland*, *Geneva*, and the reformed *Swiss* Cantons. I do not say this in Diminution, or Disgrace to Commonwealths; wherein, I confess, I have much altered many Opinions, under which I was educated, having been led by some Observation, long Experience, and a thorough Detestation for the Corruptions of Mankind: Insomuch, that I am now justly liable to the Censure of *Hobbs*, who complains, that the Youth of *England* imbibe ill Opinions, from reading the Histories of ancient *Greece* and *Rome*, those renowned Scenes of Liberty and every Virtue.

BUT,

BUT, as to Monarchs; who must be supposed well to study and understand their own Interest; they will best consider, whether those People, who in all their Actions, Preachings, and Writings, have openly declared themselves against Regal Power, are to be safely placed in an equal Degree of Favour and Trust with those, who have been always found the true and only Friends to the *English* Establishment. From which Consideration, I could have added one more Article to my new Test, if I had thought it worth my Time.

I HAVE been assured by some Persons who were present, that several of these Dissenting Teachers, upon their first Arrival hither to solicit the Repeal of the Test, were pleased to express their Gratitude, by publicly drinking the Healths of certain eminent Patrons, whom they pretend to have found among us. If this be true, and that the Test must be delivered up by the very *Superiors appointed to defend it*; the Affair is already, in effect, at an End. What *secret* Reasons those Patrons may have given for such a Return of brotherly Love, I shall not enquire: *For, O my Soul come not thou into their Secret, unto their Assembly, mine Honour, be not thou united. For in their Anger they slew a Man, and in their Self-will they digged down a Wall. Cursed be their Anger, for it was fierce, and their Wrath, for it was cruel: I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel.*

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S O M E
A D V I C E

Humbly offered to the
M E M B E R S
O F T H E
O C T O B E R C L U B .

In a L E T T E R from a P E R S O N of
H O N O U R.

W R I T T E N in the Y E A R M D C C X I .



SOME

ADVICE

OFFICE OF THE

MEMBERS

OF THE

PROSECUTOR

IN THE

CASE OF



T H E

PUBLISHER'S PREFACE.

A BOUT the Year when her late Majesty, of blessed Memory, thought proper to change her Ministry, and brought in Mr. Harley, Mr. St. John, Sir Simon Harcourt, and some others: The first of these being made an Earl and Lord Treasurer, he was soon after blamed by his Friends for not making a general Sweep of all the Whigs, as the Latter did of their Adversaries, upon her Majesty's Death, when they came into Power. At that Time a great Number of Parliament Men amounting to above two hundred, grew so warm upon the Slowness of the Treasurer in this Part, that they formed themselves into a Body under the Name of the October Club, and had many Meetings, to consult upon some Methods that might spur on those in Power, so that they might make a quicker Dispatch, in removing all of the Whig Leaven from the Employments they still possessed. To prevent the ill Consequences of this Discontent among so many worthy Members; the rest of the Ministry joined with the Treasurer, partly to pacify, and partly to divide those who were in greater Haste than moderate Men thought convenient. It was well known, that the supposed Author met a considerable Number of this Club in a publick House, where he convinced them very plainly of the Treasurer's Sincerity, with many of those very Reasons, which are urged in the following Discourse, besides some others, which were not so proper to appear at that Time in Print.

The Treasurer alledged in his Defence, that such a Treatment would not consist with Prudence, because
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THE PREFACE.

there were many Employments to be bestowed, which required Skill and Practice; that several Gentlemen who possessed them, had been long versed, and very loyal to Her Majesty, and had never been violent Party Men, and were ready to fall into all honest Measures for the Service of their Queen and Country. But however, as Offices became vacant, he would humbly recommend to Her Majesty such Gentlemen, whose Principles with Regard both to Church and State, his Friends would approve of, and he would be ready to accept their Recommendations. Thus the Earl proceeded in procuring Employments for those who deserved them by their Honesty, and Abilities to execute them; which I confess to have been a Singularity not very likely to be imitated. However, the Gentlemen of this Club still continued uneasy that no quicker Progress was made in Removals, until those who were least violent began to soften a little, or by dividing them, the whole Affair dropped. During this Difficulty, we have been assured, that the following Discourse was very seasonably published with great Success, shewing the Difficulties that the Earl of Oxford lay under, and his real Desire, that all Persons in Employment should be true loyal Churchmen, zealous for Her Majesty's Honour and Safety, as well as for the Succession in the House of Hanover, if the Queen should happen to die without Issue. This Discourse having been published about the Year 1711. and many of the Facts forgotten, would not have been generally understood without some Explanation, which we have now endeavoured to give, because it seems a Point of History too material to be lost. We owe this Piece of Intelligence to an Intimate of the supposed Author.

SOME

S O M E
A D V I C E

Humbly offered to the
M E M B E R S
O F T H E
O C T O B E R C L U B.

GENTLEMEN,

SINCE the first Institution of your Society, I have always thought you capable of the greatest Things. Such a Number of Persons, Members of Parliament, true Lovers of our Constitution in Church and State, meeting at certain Times, and mixing Business and Conversation together, without the Forms and Constraint necessary to be observed in publick Assemblies, must very much improve each others Understanding; correct and fix your Judgment; and prepare yourselves against any Designs of the opposite Party. Upon the Opening of this Session, an Incident hath happened; to provide against the Consequences whereof will require your utmost Vigilance and Application. All this last Summer the Enemy was working under Ground, and laying their

their Train; they gradually became more frequent and bold in their Pamphlets and Papers, while those on our Side were dropped, as if we had no farther Occasion for them. Some Time before, an Opportunity fell into their Hands, which they have cultivated ever since; and thereby have endeavoured, in some Sort, to turn those Arts against us, which had been so effectually employed to their Ruin: A plain Demonstration of their superior Skill at Intrigue; to make a Stratagem succeed a second Time; and this even against those who first tried it upon them. I know not whether this Opportunity I have mentioned could have been prevented by any Care, without straining a very *tender Point*, which those chiefly concerned avoided by all Means, because it might seem a Counter Part of what they had so much condemned in their *Predecessors*. Although it is certain the two Cases were widely different; and if Policy had once got the better of Good Nature, all had been safe, for there was no other Danger in view: But the Consequences of this were foreseen from the Beginning; and those who *kept the Watch* had early Warning of it. It would have been a Master-piece of Prudence, in this Case, to have made a *Friend* of an *Enemy*. But whether that were possible to be compassed, or whether it were ever attempted, is now too late to enquire. All Accommodation was rendered desperate, by an unlucky Proceeding some Months ago at *Windsor*, which was a Declaration of War too frank and generous for that Situation of Affairs; and, I am told, was not approved by a certain great Minister. It was obvious to suppose, that in a Particular, where the Honour and Interest of a *Husband* were so closely united with those of a *Wife*, he might be sure of her utmost Endeavours for his Protection

Protection, although she neither loved nor esteemed him. The Danger of losing Power, Favour, Profit, and a Shelter from *Domestick Tyranny*, were strong Incitements to stir up a working Brain, *early* practised in all the Arts of Intriguing. Neither is it safe to count upon the Weakness of any Man's Understanding, who is thoroughly possessed with the Spirit of Revenge to sharpen his Invention: Nothing else is required besides *Obsequiousness* and *Affiduity*; which, as they are often the Talents of those who have no better, so, they are apt to make Impressions upon the *best* and *greatest* Minds.

It was no small Advantage to the *designing Party*, that since the Adventure at *Windsor*, the *Person, on whom we so much depend*, was long absent by Sickness; which hindered him from pursuing those Measures that Ministers are in Prudence forced to take, to defend their Country and themselves against an irritated Faction. The *Negotiators* on the other Side, improved this favourable Conjunction to the utmost; and by an unparalleled Boldness, accompanied with many Falshoods, persuaded certain Lords, who were already in the same Principle, but were afraid of making a wrong Step, lest it should *lead them out of their Coaches into the Dirt*; that voting, in Appearance, against the Court, would be the safest Course to avoid the Danger they most apprehended, which was that of losing their Pensions; and their Opinions, when produced, would, by seemingly contradicting their Interest, have an Appearance of Virtue into the Bargain. This, with some Arguments of more *immediate Power*, went far in producing that strange unexpected Turn we have so lately seen, and from which our Adversaries reckoned upon such wonderful Effects; and some
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of them, particularly my Lord Chief Justice, began to act as if all were already in their Power.

BUT, although the more immediate Causes of this Desertion were what I have above related, yet I am apt to think, it would hardly have been attempted, or at least not have succeeded, but for a prevailing Opinion, that the Church Party, and the Ministers, had different Views, or at least were not so firmly united as they ought to have been. It was commonly said, and I suppose, not without some Ground of Truth, that many Gentlemen of your Club were discontented to find so *little done*; that they thought it looked as if People were *not in earnest*; that they expected to see a *thorough Change*, with Respect to Employments; and although every Man could not be provided for, yet when all Places were filled with Persons of good Principles, there would be fewer Complaints, and less Danger from the other Party; that this Change was hoped for all last Summer, and even to the Opening of the Session, yet nothing done. On the other Hand, it was urged by some in Favour of the Ministry, that it was impossible to find Employments for one *Pretender* in twenty; and therefore, in gratifying one, nineteen would be disoblged; but while all had leave to hope, they would all endeavour to deserve: But this again was esteemed a very shallow Policy, which was too easily seen through, must soon come to an End, and would cause a general Discontent; with twenty other Objections, to which it was liable: And indeed, considering the short Life of Ministries in our Climate, it was with some Reason thought a little hard, that those, for whom any Employment was intended, should, by such a Delay, be probably deprived of half their Benefit; not to mention, that a Ministry

is best confirmed, when all inferior Officers are in its Interest.

I HAVE set this Cause of Complaint in the strongest Light, although my Design is to endeavour that it should have no Manner of Weight with you, as I am confident our Adversaries counted upon, and do still expect to find mighty Advantages by it.

BUT it is necessary to say something to this Objection, which in all Appearance lieth so hard upon the present Ministry. What shall I offer upon so tender a Point? How shall I convey an Answer that none will apprehend, except those for whom I intend it? I have often pitied the Condition of great Ministers upon several Accounts; but never so much upon any, as when their Duty obliges them to bear the Blame and Envy of Actions, for which they will not be answerable in the next World, although they dare not convince the present, until it is too late. This Letter is sent you, *Gentlemen*, from no mean Hand, nor from a Person uninformed, although for the rest as little concerned in Point of Interest for any Change of Ministry, as most others of his Fellow-Subjects. I may therefore assume so much to myself, as to desire you will depend upon it, that a short Time will make manifest, how little the Defect you complain of, ought to lie at *that Door*, where your Enemies would be glad to see you place it. The wisest Man, who is not very near the Spring of Affairs, but views them only in their Issues and Events, will be apt to fix Applauses and Reproaches in the wrong Place; which is the true Cause of a Weakness that I never yet knew Great Ministers without; I mean their being deaf to all Advice: For, if a Person of the best Understanding, offer his Opinion in a Point where he is not Master of all the Circumstances,

ces (which perhaps are not to be told) it is a hundred to one, that he runs into an Absurdity: From whence it is, that Ministers falsely conclude themselves to be equally wiser than others in general Things, where the common Reason of Mankind ought to be the Judge; and is probably less byassed than theirs. I have known a great Man of excellent Parts, blindly pursue a point of no Importance, against the Advice of every Friend he had, until it ended in his Ruin. I have seen great Abilities rendered utterly useless, by unaccountable and unnecessary Delay, and by difficulty of Access, by which a thousand Opportunities are suffered to escape. I have observed the *strongest Shoulders* to sink under too great a Load of Business, for want of dividing a due Proportion among others: These, and more that might be named, are obvious Failings, which every rational Man may be allowed to discern, as well as lament; and wherein the wisest Minister may receive Advice from others of inferior Understanding: But, in those Actions where we are not thoroughly informed of all the Motives and Circumstances, it is hardly possible, that our Judgment should not be mistaken. I have often been one of the Company, where we have all blamed a Measure taken, which hath afterward proved the only one that could possibly have succeeded. Nay, I have known those very Men who have formerly been in the Secret of Affairs, when a new Set of People hath come in, offering their Refinements and Conjectures in a very plausible Manner upon what was passing, and widely err in all they advanced.

WHATEVER Occasions may have been given for Complaints, that *enough hath not been done*, those Complaints should not be carried so far, as to make us forget what hath been done, which at first was a
great

great deal more than we hoped or thought practicable; and you may be assured, that so much Courage and Address, were not employed in the Beginning of so great a Work, without a Resolution of carrying it through, as fast as Opportunities would offer. Any of the most sanguine Gentlemen in your Club, would gladly have compounded two Years ago, to have been assured of seeing Affairs in the present Situation: It is principally to the Abilities of *one great Person*, that you, *Gentlemen*, owe the Happiness of meeting together, to cultivate good Principles, and form yourselves into a Body for defending your Country against a restless and dangerous Faction. It is to the *same* we all owe that mighty Change in the most important Posts of the Kingdom; that we see the sacred Person of our *Prince*, encompassed by those whom we ourselves would have chosen, if it had been left to our Power: And, if every Thing besides, that you could wish, hath not been hitherto done, you will be but just to impute it to some powerful, although *unknown Impediments*, wherein the Ministry is more to be lamented than blamed: But there is good Reason to hope from the vigorous Proceedings of the Court, that these *Impediments* will in a short Time effectually be removed: And one great Motive to hasten the Removal of them, will doubtless be the Reflection upon those dangerous Consequences which had like to have ensued upon not removing them before. Besides, after so plain and formidable a Conviction, that mild and moderate Methods meet with no other Reception or Return, than to serve as Opportunities to the insatiable Malice of an Enemy; Power will awake to vindicate itself, and disarm its Opposers, at least, of all *offensive Weapons*.

CONSIDER, if you please, how hard beset the present Ministry hath been on every Side: By the Impossibility of carrying on the War any longer, without taking the most desperate Courses; or of recovering *Spain* from the House of *Bourbon*, although we could continue it many Years longer: By the Clamours of a Faction against any Peace without that Condition, which the most knowing among themselves allowed to be impracticable: By the secret Cabals of Foreign Ministers, who have endeavoured to inflame our People, and spirited up a sinking Faction to blast all our Endeavours for Peace, with those popular Reproaches of *France* and the *Pretender*: Not to mention the Danger they have been in from *private Insinuations of such a Nature*, as it was almost impossible to fence against. These Clouds now begin to blow over, and those *who are at the Helm*, will have Leisure to look about them; and compleat what yet remains to be done.

THAT Confederate Body which now makes up the Adverse Party, consisteth of an Union so monstrous and unnatural, that in a little Time it must of Necessity fall to Pieces. The *Dissenters* with Reason think themselves betrayed and sold by their *Brethren*. What they have been told, that the present *Bill* against *Occasional Conformity*, was to prevent a greater Evil, is an Excuse too gross to pass; and if any other profound Refinement were meant, it is now come to nothing. The remaining Sections of the Party, have no other Tye but that of an inveterate Hatred and Rancour against those in Power, without agreeing in any other common Interest; not cemented by Principle or Personal Friendship: I speak particularly of their Leaders; and although I know that Court-Enmities are as inconstant as its Friendships, yet from the Difference of Temper and Principle,

Principle, as well as the Scars remaining of former Animosities, I am persuaded their League will not be of long Continuance: I know several of them who will never pardon those with whom they are now in Confederacy; and when once they see the present Ministry thoroughly fixed, they will grow weary of *Hunting upon a cold Scent*, or playing a *desperate Game*; and crumble away.

ON the other Side, while the Malice of that Party continues in Vigour; while they yet feel the Bruises of their Fall, which pain them afresh since their late *Disappointment*; they will leave no Arts untried to recover themselves; and it behoves all who have any Regard for the Safety of the QUEEN or her Kingdom, to join unanimously against an Adversary who will return full fraught with Vengeance upon the first Opportunity that shall offer: And this, perhaps, is more to be regarded, because that Party seem yet to have a Reserve of Hope, in the *same Quarter from whence their last Reinforcement came*. Neither can any Thing cultivate this Hope of theirs so much, as a Disagreement among ourselves, founded upon a Jealousy of the Ministry, who, I think, need no better a Testimony of their good Intentions, than the incessant *Rage* of the *Party-Leaders* against them.

THERE is one Fault which both Sides are apt to charge upon themselves, and very generously commend their Adversaries for the contrary Virtue. The *Tories* acknowledge, that the *Whigs* outdid them in rewarding their Friends, and adhering to each other. The *Whigs* allow the same to the *Tories*. I am apt to think, that the former may a little excel the latter in this Point; for doubtless, the *Tories* are less vindictive of the two; and whoever is remiss in *Punishing*, will probably be so in *Re-*
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warding;

warding ; although at the same Time I well remember the Clamours often raised during the Reign of that Party against the Leaders, by those who thought their Merits were not rewarded ; and they had Reason on their Side ; because it is, no doubt, a Misfortune, to forfeit *Honour* and *Conscience* for nothing : But surely, the Case is very different at this Time, when whoever adheres to the Administration, doeth Service to GOD, his Prince, and his Country, as well as contributes to his own private Interest and Safety.

BUT, if the *Whig* Leaders were more grateful in rewarding their Friends, it must be avowed likewise, that the Bulk of them was in general more zealous for the Service of their Party, even when abstracted from any private Advantage ; as might be observed in a thousand Instances : For which I would likewise commend them, if it were not natural to Mankind to be more *violent in an ill Cause*, than a good one.

THE perpetual Discord of Factions, with several Changes of late Years in the very Nature of our Government, have controuled many Maxims among us. The *Court* and *Country Party* which used to be the old Division, seems now to be ceased, or suspended for *better Times* and *worse Princes*. The QUEEN and Ministry are at this Time fully in the true Interest of the Kingdom ; and therefore the *Court* and *Country* are of a Side ; and the *Whigs*, who originally were of the latter, are now of neither, but an independent Faction, nursed up by the *Necessities* or *Mistakes* of a late good, although unexperienced Prince. *Court* and *Country* ought therefore to join their Forces against these common Enemies, until they are entirely dispersed and disabled. It is enough to arm ourselves against them, when we consider

consider that the greatest Misfortunes which can befall the Nation, are what would most answer their *Interest* and their *Wishes*; a perpetual War increases their Money, breaks and beggars their *Landed Enemies*. The Ruin of the Church would please the Dissenters, Deists, and Socinians, whereof the Body of their Party consists. A *Commonwealth*, or a *Protector*, would gratify the *Republican Principles* of some, and the Ambition of others among them.

I WOULD infer from hence, that no Discontents of an inferior Nature, such I mean, as I have already mentioned, should be carried so far as to give any ill Impression of the present Ministry. If all Things have not been hitherto done as you, *Gentlemen*, could reasonably wish, it can be imputed only to the *secret Instruments* of that Faction. The Truth of this hath appeared from some late Incidents more visible than formerly. Neither do I believe, that any one will now make a Doubt whether a *certain Person* be *in earnest*, after the united and avowed Endeavours of a whole Party to strike directly at his Head.

WHEN it happens, by some private cross Intrigues, that a great Man hath not the Power which is thought due to his Station, he will however probably desire the Reputation of it, without which he neither can preserve the Dignity, nor hardly go through the common Business of his Place; yet is it that Reputation to which he owes all the Envy and Hatred of others, as well as his own Disquiets. Mean Time, his expecting Friends impute all their Disappointments to some deep Design, or to his Defect of Good-will; and his Enemies are sure to cry up his Excess of Power; especially in those Points where they are confident it is most shortned.

A Minister, in this difficult Case, is sometimes forced to preserve his Credit, by forbearing what *is* in his Power, for fear of discovering how far the Limits extend of what *is not*; or perhaps for Fear of shewing an Inclination contrary to that of his Master. Yet all this while he lyes under the Reproach of *Delay*, *Unsteadiness*, or *Want of Sincerity*. So that there are many Inconveniencies and Dangers, either in discovering, or concealing the Want of Power. Neither is it hard to conceive, that Ministers may happen to suffer for the *Sins of their Predecessors*, who by their great Abuses and Monopolies of Power and Favour, have taught Princes to be more thrifty for the future in the Distribution of both. And, as in common Life, whoever hath been long confined, is very fond of his Liberty, and will not easily endure the very Appearance of Restraint, even from those who have been the Instruments of setting him free; so it is with the Recovery of Power; which is usually attended with an undistinguished Jealousy, lest it should be *again* invaded. In such a Juncture, I cannot discover why a wise and honest Man should venture to place himself at the Head of Affairs upon any other Regard than the Safety of his Country, and the Advice of *Socrates*, to *prevent an ill Man from coming in*.

UPON the whole, I do not see any one Ground of Suspicion or Dislike, which you, *Gentlemen*, or others, who wish well to their Country, may have entertained about Persons or Proceedings, but what may probably be misapprehended even by those who think they have the best Information. Nay, I will venture to go one Step farther, by adding, that although it may not be prudent to speak out upon
this

this Occasion ; yet, whoever will reason impartially upon the whole State of Affairs, must entirely acquit the Ministry of that Delay and Neutrality which have been laid to their Charge. Or suppose, some small Part of this Accusation were true, (which I positively know to be otherwise, whereof the World will soon be convinced) yet the Consequences of any Repentment at this Time, must either be none at all, or the most fatal that can be imagined : For if the present Ministry be made so uneasy, that a Change be thought necessary, Things will return of Course into the old Hands of those whose *Little Fingers will be found heavier than their Predecessors Loins*. The *Whig-Faction* is so dextrous at Corrupting, and the People so susceptible of it, that you cannot be ignorant how easy it will be, after such a Turn of Affairs, upon a new Election, to procure a Majority against you. They will resume their Power, with a Spirit like that of *Marius* or *Sylla*, or the last Triumvirate ; and those Ministers who have been most censured for too much Hesitation, will fall the first Sacrifices to their Vengeance. But, these are the smallest Mischiefs to be apprehended from such returning Exiles. What Security can a Prince hope for his Person or his Crown, or even for the Monarchy itself ? He must expect to see his best Friends brought to the Scaffold, for *asserting his Rights* ; to see his *Prerogative* trampled on, and his *Treasure* applied to *feed the Avarice of those who make themselves his Keepers* : To hear himself treated with Insolence and Contempt ; to have his *Family purged at Pleasure* by their Humour and Malice ; and to retain even the Name and Shadow of a King, no longer than his *Ephori* shall think fit.

THESE are the inevitable Consequences of such a Change of Affairs, as that envenomed Party is now projecting; which will best be prevented by your firmly adhering to the present Ministry, until this *Domestick Enemy* is out of all Possibility of making Head any more,



CONSI-

CONSIDERATIONS

UPON TWO

BILLS

Sent down from the Right Honourable the
House of LORDS

To the Honourable
House of COMMONS,

Relating to the
CLERGY
OF
IRELAND.



WRITTEN in the YEAR, 1731.

RESOLUTIONS

BILLS

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HOUSE OF COMMONS

CLERK

ALFRED V. D.



ADVERTISEMENT.

IN the Year 1731, a Bill was brought into the House of Lords by a great Majority of the Right Reverend the Bishops, for enabling them to divide the Livings of the inferior Clergy; which Bill was approved of in the Privy-Council of Ireland, and passed by the Lords in Parliament. It was afterwards sent to the House of Commons for their Approbation; but was rejected by them with a great Majority. The supposed Author of the following Considerations, who hath always been the best Friend to the inferior Clergy of the Church of England, as may be seen in many Parts of his Writings, opposed this pernicious Project with great Success; which, if it had passed into Law, would have been of the worst Consequence to this Nation.

C O N-

This image shows a blank, aged, cream-colored page, likely an endpaper or flyleaf of a book. The paper has a slightly textured appearance with some minor discoloration and small dark spots, possibly due to age or handling. A faint vertical crease is visible near the left edge, and the binding edge of the book is partially visible on the far left.

CONSIDERATIONS

UPON TWO

BILLS, &c.

I HAVE often, for above a Month past, desired some few Clergymen, who are pleased to visit me, that they would procure an Extract of Two BILLS, brought into the Council by some of the Bishops, and both of them since passed in the *House of Lords*: But I could never obtain what I desired, whether by the Forgetfulness, or Negligence of those whom I employed, or the Difficulty of the Thing itself. Therefore, if I shall happen to mistake in any Fact of Consequence, I desire my Remarks upon it may pass for Nothing; for my Information is no better than what I received in Words from several Divines, who seemed to agree with each other. I have not the Honour to be acquainted with any one single *Prelate* of the Kingdom; and am a Stranger to their Characters, further than as common Fame reports them, which is not to be depended on. Therefore, I cannot be supposed to act upon any Principle of Resentment. I esteem their Functions (if I may
be

be allowed to say so without Offence) as truly *Apostolical*, and absolutely necessary to the Perfection of a *Christian Church*.

THERE are no Qualities more incident to the Frailty and Corruptions of human Kind, than an Indifference, or Insensibility for other Mens Sufferings, and a sudden Forgetfulness of their own former humble State, when they rise in the World. These two Dispositions have not, I think, any where so strongly exerted themselves, as in the Order of Bishops, with regard to the inferior Clergy; for which I can find no Reasons, but such as naturally should seem to operate a quite contrary Way. The Maintenance of the Clergy, throughout the Kingdom, is precarious and uncertain, collected from a most miserable Race of beggarly Farmers; at whose Mercy every *Minister* lyes to be defrauded: His Office, as *Rector*, or *Vicar*, if it be duly executed, is very laborious: As soon as he is promoted to a *Bishoprick*, the Scene is entirely and happily changed; his Revenues are large, and as surely paid as those of the *King*; his whole Business is once a Year to receive the Attendance, the Submission, and the Proxy-Money of all his Clergy, in whatever Part of the Diocese he shall please to think most convenient for himself. Neither is his personal Presence necessary, for the Business may be done by a *Vicar-General*. The Fatigue of Ordination, is just what the Bishops please to make it; and as Matters have been for some Time, and may probably remain, the fewer Ordinations the better. The rest of their visible Office, consists in the Honour of attending Parliaments and Councils, and bestowing Preferments in their own Gift; in which last Employment, and in their Spiritual and Temporal Courts, the Labour falls to their *Vicars-General*,

General, Secretaries, Proctors, Apparitors, Seneschals, and the like. Now, I say, in so quick a Change, where their Brethren, in a few Days, are become their Subjects, it would be reasonable at least, to hope, that the Labour, Confinement, and Subjection from which they have so lately escaped, *like a Bird out of the Snare of the Fowler*, might a little incline them to remember the Condition of those, who were but last Week their Equals, probably their Companions or their Friends, and possibly as reasonable Expectants. There is a known Story of Colonel *Tidcomb*, who, while he continued a Subaltern Officer, was every Day complaining against the Pride, Oppression, and hard Treatment of *Colonels* towards their *Officers*; yet in a very few Minutes after he had received his Commission for a Regiment, walking with a Friend on the *Mall*, he confessed that the Spirit of Colonelship was coming fast upon him, which Spirit is said to have daily increased to the Hour of his Death.

It is true, the *Clergy* of this Kingdom, who are promoted to *Bishopricks*, have always some great Advantages; either that of rich *Deanaries*, opulent and multiplied *Rectories* and *Dignities*, strong Alliances by Birth or Marriage, fortified by a superlative Degree of Zeal and Loyalty; but, however, they were all at first no more than young Beginners; and before their great Promotion, were known by their plain *Christian* Names, among their old Companions, the middling Rate of *Clergymen*; nor could, therefore, be Strangers to their Condition, or with any good Grace, forget it so soon, as it hath too often happened.

I CONFESS, I do not remember to have observed any Body of Men, acting with so little Concert as our *Clergy* have done, in a Point where their Opinions

nions appeared to be unanimous: A Point wherein their whole Temporal Support was concerned, as well as their Power of serving God and his Church, in their Spiritual Functions. This hath been imputed to their Fear of disobliging, or Hopes of further Favours upon Compliance; because it was observed, that some who appeared at first with greatest Zeal, thought fit suddenly to absent themselves from the usual Meetings; yet, we know what expert Sollicitors the *Quakers*, the *Dissenters*, and even the *Papists* have sometimes found, to drive a Point of Advantage, or prevent an impending Evil.

I HAVE not seen any Extract from the two Bills introduced into the Privy Council by the Bishops; where the Clergy, upon some Failure in Favour, or through the Timorousness of many among their Brethren, were refused to be heard by the Council. It seems, these Bills were both returned, agreed to by the King and Council in *England*; and the *House of Lords* hath, with great Expedition, passed them both; and it is said they are immediately to be sent down to the *Commons* for their Consent.

THE Particulars, as they have been imperfectly reported to me, are as follow.

By one of the Bills, the Bishops have Power to oblige the Country Clergy, to build a Mansion-House upon whatever Part of their Glebes their Lordships shall command; and if the Living be above 50 *l.* a Year, the Minister is bound to build, after three Years, a House that shall cost one Year and an half's Rent of his Income. For Instance, if a Clergyman, with a Wife and seven Children, gets a Living of 55 *l. per Annum*, he must after
three

three Years, build a House that shall cost 77 *l.* 10 *s.* and must support his Family during the Time the Bishop shall appoint for the Building of it with the Remainder. But, if the Living be under 50 *l.* a Year, the Minister shall be allowed 100 *l.* out of the First Fruits.

BUT, there is said to be one Circumstance a little extraordinary ; that if there be a single Spot in the Glebe more barren, more marshy, more exposed to Winds, more distant from the Church, or Skeleton of a Church, or from any Conveniency of Building : The Rector, or Vicar may be obliged by the Caprice, or Pique of the Bishop, to build, under Pain of Sequestration (an Office, which ever falls into the most knavish Hands) upon whatever Point his *Lordship* shall command ; although the Farmers have not paid one Quarter of his Dues.

I BELIEVE, under the present Distresses of the Kingdom, (which inevitably, without a Miracle, must increase for ever) there are not ten Country Clergymen in *Ireland*, reputed to possess a Parish of 100 *l.* *per Annum*, who, for some Years past, have actually received 60 *l.* and that with the utmost Difficulty and Vexation. I am, therefore, at a Loss, what Kind of Valuers the *Bishops* will make use of ; and whether the starving *Vicar*, shall be forced to build his House with the Money he never received.

THE other Bill, which passed in two Days after the former, is said to concern the Division of Parishes, into as many Parcels as the *Bishop* shall think fit, only leaving 300 *l.* a Year to the Mother Church ; which 300 *l.* by another *Act* passed some Years ago, they can divide likewise, and crumble as low as their Will and Pleasure will dispose them. So, that instead of six hundred Clergymen, which,

I think, is the usual Computation, we may have in a small Compass of Years almost as many Thousands to live with Decency and Comfort, provide for their Children, be charitable to the Poor, and maintain Hospitality.

BUT it is very reasonable to hope, and heartily to be wished by all those who have the least Regard to our Holy Religion, as hitherto established, or to a learned, pious, diligent, conversable *Clergyman*, or even to common Humanity; that the *Honourable House of Commons* will, in their great Wisdom, Justice, and Tenderness to innocent Men, consider these Bills in another Light. It is said, they well knew this Kingdom not to be so over-stocked with neighbouring Gentry; but a discreet, learned *Clergyman*, with a Competency fit for one of his Education, may be an entertaining, a useful, and sometimes a necessary Companion. That, although such a Clergyman may not be able constantly to find BEEF and WINE for his own Family, yet he may be allowed sometimes to afford both to a Neighbour, without distressing himself; and the rather, because he may expect at least as good a Return. It will probably be considered, that in many desolate Parts there may not be always a sufficient Number of Persons considerable enough to be trusted with *Commissions of the Peace*, which several of the *Clergy* now supply much better than a little, hedge, contemptible, illiterate *Vicar* from twenty to fifty Pounds a Year, the Son of a *Weaver*, *Pedlar*, *Taylor*, or *Miller*, can be presumed to do.

THE Landlords and Farmers by this Scheme can find no Profit, but will certainly be Losers; for Instance, if the large Northern Livings be split into a dozen Parishes, or more, it will be very necessary
for

for the little threadbare *Gownman*, with his Wife, his Proctor, and every Child who can crawl, to watch the Fields at Harvest Time, for fear of losing a single Sheaf, which he could not afford under Peril of a Day's Starving: for, according to the *Scotch Proverb*, *a hungry Louse bites sore*. This would of Necessity, breed an infinite Number of Brangles and litigious Suits in the Spiritual Courts; and put the wretched *Pastor* at perpetual Variance with his whole Parish. But, as they have hitherto stood, a Clergyman established in a competent Living is not under the Necessity of being so sharp, vigilant, and exacting. On the contrary, it is well known and allowed, that the Clergy round the Kingdom think themselves well treated, if they lose only one single Third of their legal Demands.

THE Honourable House may, perhaps, be inclined to conceive, that my *Lords* the *Bishops* enjoy as ample a Power both Spiritual and Temporal, as will fully suffice to answer every Branch of their Office; That they want no Laws to regulate the Conduct of those Clergymen, over whom they preside; That, if Non-Residence be a Grievance, it is the Patron's Fault, who makes not a better Choice, or caused the Plurality. That, if the general impartial Character of Persons chosen into the Church had been more regarded, and the Motive of *Party*, *Alliance*, *Kindred*, *Flatterers*, *Ill-judgment*, or *Personal Favour* regarded less; there would be fewer Complaints of Non-Residence, Want of Care, blameable Behaviour, or any other Part of Misconduct; not to mention *Ignorance* and *Stupidity*.

I COULD name certain Gentlemen of the *Gown*, whose awkward, spruce, prim, sneering, and smirking Countenances, the very Tone of their Voice,

and an ungainly Strut in their Walk, without one single Talent for any one Office, have contrived to get good Preferment by the mere Force of *Flattery* and *Cringing*: For which two Virtues (the only two Virtues they pretend to) they were, however utterly unqualified: And whom, if I were in Power, although they were my *Nephews* or had married my *Nieces*, I could never in Point of good Conscience or Honour, have recommended to a *Curacy* in *Connaught*.

THE *Honourable House of Commons* may likewise perhaps consider, that the Gentry of this Kingdom differ from all others upon Earth, being less capable of Employments in their own Country, than any others who come from Abroad; and, that most of them have little Expectation of providing for their younger Children, otherwise than by the Church, in which there might be some Hopes of getting a tolerable Maintenance. For, after the Patrons should have settled their *Sons*, their *Nephews*, their *Nieces*, their *Dependents*, and their *Followers*, invited over from the other Side, there would still remain an Overplus of smaller Church Preferments, to be given to such Clergy of the Nation, who shall have their *quantum* of whatever Merit may be then in Fashion. But by these Bills, they will be all as absolutely excluded, as if they had passed under the Denomination of *Tories*; unless they can be contented at the utmost with 50 *l.* a Year; which, by the Difficulties of collecting Tythes in *Ireland*, and the daily increasing Miseries of the People, will hardly rise to half that Sum.

It is observed, that the *Divines* sent over hither to govern this Church, have not seemed to consider the Difference between both Kingdoms, with respect to the inferior Clergy. As to themselves, indeed

indeed, they find a large Revenue in Lands let at one quarter Value, which consequently must be paid while there is a Penny left among us; and, the Publick Distress so little affects their Interests, that their Fines are now higher than ever: They content themselves to suppose, that whatever a Parish is said to be worth, comes all into the *Parson's Pocket*.

THE Poverty of great Numbers among the Clergy in *England*, hath been the continual Complaint of all Men who wish well to the Church; and many Schemes have been thought on to redress it; yet an *English Vicar* of 40 *l.* a Year, lives much more comfortably than one of double the Value in *Ireland*. His Farmers, generally speaking, are able and willing to pay him his full Dues: He hath a decent Church of ancient Standing, filled every *Lord's Day* with a large Congregation of plain People, well clad, and behaving themselves as if they believed in GOD and CHRIST. He hath a House and Barn in Repair, a Field or two to graze his Cows, with a Garden and Orchard. No Guest expects more from him than a Pot of Ale: he lives like an honest plain Farmer, as his Wife is dressed but little better than *Goody*. He is sometimes graciously invited by the 'Squire, where he sits at humble Distance; if he gets the Love of his People, they often make him little useful Presents: He is happy by being born to no higher Expectation; for he is usually the Son of some ordinary Tradesman, or middling Farmer. His Learning is much of a Size with his Birth and Education; no more of either than what a poor hungry *Servitor* can be expected to bring with him from his *College*. It would be tedious to shew the Reverse of all this in our distant poorer Parishes, through most Parts of

Ireland, wherein every Reader may make the Comparison.

LASTLY, The *Honourable House of Commons* may consider, whether the Scheme of multiplying beggarly *Clergymen*, through the whole Kingdom, who must all have Votes for chusing Parliament Men (provided they can prove their Freeholds to be worth 40 s. *per Annum, ultra reprisas*) may not, by their Numbers, have great Influence upon *Elections*; being entirely under the Dependence of their *Bishops*. For, by a moderate Computation, after all the Divisions and Sub-divisions of Parishes, that, my *Lords*, the *Bishops*, have Power to make by their new Laws, there will, as soon as the present Set of Clergy goes off, be raised an Army of *Ecclesiastical Militants*, able enough for any kind of Service, except that of the Altar.

I AM, indeed, in some Concern about a Fund for building a thousand or two Churches, wherein these Probationers may read their *Wall-Lectures*; and begin to doubt they must be contented with *Barns*; which *Barns* will be one great advancing Step towards an Accommodation with our *true Protestant Brethren*, the *Dissenters*.

THE Scheme of encouraging *Clergymen* to build Houses by dividing a Living of 500 l. a Year into ten Parts, is a Contrivance, the Meaning whereof hath got on the wrong Side of my Comprehension; unless it may be argued, that *Bishops* build no Houses, because they are so rich; and therefore, the inferior *Clergy* will certainly build, if you reduce them to Beggary. But I knew a very rich Man of Quality in *England*, who could never be persuaded to keep a *Servant* out of *Livery*; because such *Servants* would be expensive, and apt in Time to look like Gentlemen; whereas, the others were
ready

ready to submit to the basest Offices, and at a cheaper Pennyworth might increase his Retinue.

I HEAR, it is the Opinion of many wise Men, that before these Bills should pass both Houses, they might be sent back to *England* with the following Clauses inserted.

FIRST, That whereas there may be about a dozen double *Bishopricks* in *Ireland*, those *Bishopricks* should be split and given to different Persons; and those of a single Denomination be also divided into two, three, or four Parts as Occasion shall require; otherwise there may be a Question started, whether twenty two *Prelates* can effectually extend their paternal Care, and unlimited Power, for the Protection and Correction of so great a Number of Spiritual *Subjects*. But, this Proposal will meet with such furious Objections, that I shall not insist upon it; for I well remember to have read, what a terrible Fright the *Frogs* were in, upon a Report, that the *Sun* was going to marry.

ANOTHER Clause should be, that none of these Twenty, Thirty, Forty, or Fifty Pounders may be suffered to marry, under the Penalty of immediate Deprivation; their Marriages declared *null*, and their Children Bastards: For, some desponding People take the Kingdom to be not in a Condition of encouraging so numerous a Breed of Beggars.

A THIRD Clause will be necessary, that these humble Gentry should be absolutely disqualified from giving Votes in *Elections* for *Parliament Men*.

OTHERS add a Fourth; which is a Clause of Indulgence, that these reduced *Divines* may be permitted to follow any lawful Ways of living, which will not call them too often or too far from their Spiritual Offices; (For, unless I misapprehend, they are supposed to have *Episcopal Ordination*.)

For Example; they may be Lappers of Linen, Bayliffs of the Manor; they may let Blood, or apply Plaisters for three Miles round: They may get a Dispensation to hold the *Clerkship* and *Sewtonship* of their own Parish in *Commendam*. Their Wives and Daughters may make Shirts for the Neighbourhood; or, if a *Barrack* be near, for the *Soldiers*: In Linen Countries, they may *Card* and *Spin*, and keep a few Looms in the House: They may let Lodgings, and sell a Pot of Ale without Doors, but not at Home, unless to sober Company, and at regular Hours. It is by some thought a little hard, that in an Affair of the last Consequence, to the very Being of the *Clergy*, in the Points of Liberty and Property, as well as in their Abilities to perform their Duty, this whole Reverend Body, who are the established Instructors of the Nation in Christianity and Moral Virtues, and are the only Persons concerned, should be the sole Persons not consulted. Let any Scholar shew the like Precedent in *Christendom* for twelve hundred Years past. An Act of Parliament for settling or selling an Estate in a private Family, is never passed until all Parties give Consent. But in the present Case the whole Body of the *Clergy* is, as themselves apprehend, determined to utter Ruin, without once expecting or asking their Opinion; and this by a Scheme contrived only by one Part of the Convocation, while the other Part which hath been chosen in the usual Forms, wants only the regal Permission to assemble, and consult about the Affairs of the Church, as their Predecessors have always done in former Ages; where it is presumed, the *Lower House* hath a Power of proposing Canons, and a negative Voice, as well as the
Upper,

Upper. And, GOD forbid (say these Objectors) that there should be a real separate Interest between the *Bishops* and *Clergy*, any more than there is between a Man and his Wife, a King and his People, or CHRIST and his Church.

It seems there is a Provision in the Bill, that no Parish shall be cut into Scraps, without the Consent of several Persons who can be no Sufferers in the Matter; but I cannot find that the *Clergy* lay much Weight on this Caution; because they argue, that the very Persons from whom these Bills took its Rise, will have the greatest Share in the Decision.

I do not, by any Means, conceive the crying Sin of the *Clergy* in this Kingdom, to be that of *Non-Residence*; I am sure, it is many Degrees less so here, than in *England*; unless the Possession of Pluralities may pass under that Name; and if this be a Fault, it is well known to whom it must be imputed: I believe, upon a fair Enquiry (and I hear an Enquiry is to be made) they will appear to be most pardonably Few; especially, considering how many Parishes have not an Inch of *Glebe*, and how difficult it is upon any reasonable Terms, to find a Place of Habitation. And, therefore, GOD knows, whether, my *Lords the Bishops* will be soon able to convince the *Clergy*, or those who have any Regard for that venerable Body, that the chief Motive in their *Lordships* Minds, by procuring these Bills, was to prevent the Sin of *Non-Residence*, while the universal Opinion of almost every *Clergyman* in the Kingdom, without Distinction of Party, taking in even those who are not likely to be Sufferers, stands directly against them.

If some Livings in the *North* may be justly thought too large a Compass of Land, which makes

makes it inconvenient for the remotest Inhabitants to attend the Service of the Church, which in some Instances may be true, no reasonable *Clergyman* would oppose a proper Remedy by particular Acts of Parliament.

Thus, for Instance, the *Deanery of Down*, a Country *Deanery*, I think, without a Cathedral, depending wholly upon an Union of Parishes joined together, in a Time when the Land lay waste and thinly inhabited; since those Circumstances are so prodigiously changed for the better, may properly be lessened, leaving a decent Competency to the *Dean*, and placing *Rectories* in the remaining Churches, which are now served only by stipendiary *Curates*.

THE Case may be probably the same in other Parts: And such a Proceeding discreetly managed would be truly for the Good of the Church.

FOR, it is to be observed, that Dean and Chapter Lands, which in *England* were all seized under the Fanatick Usurpation, are Things unknown in *Ireland*, having been long ravished from the Church, by a Succession of Confusions; and Tythes applied in their Stead, to support that Ecclesiastical Dignity.

THE late * *Archbishop of Dublin* had a very different Way of encouraging the *Clergy* of his Diocese to Residence: When a Lease had ran out seven Years or more, he stipulated with the Tenant to resign up twenty or thirty Acres to the Minister of the Parish where it lay convenient, without lessening his former Rent; and with no great Abatement of the Fine; and this he did in the Parts near *Dublin*, where Land is at the highest Rates, leaving

* *The Right Reverend Dr. WILLIAM KING.*

a small

a small Chiefry for the Minister to pay, hardly a sixth Part of the Value. I doubt not, that almost every *Bishop* in the Kingdom may do the same generous Act with less Damage to their Sees, than his late *Grace of Dublin*; much of whose Lands were out in Fee Farms, or Leases for Lives; and I am sorry that the good Example of such a *Prelate* hath not been followed.

BUT a great Majority of the *Clergy's* Friends cannot hitherto reconcile themselves to this Project; which they call a *levelling Principle*, that must inevitably root out the Seeds of all honest Emulation, the legal Parent of the greatest Virtues, and most generous Actions among Men; but in the general Opinion (for I do not pretend to offer my own) will never more have room to exert itself in the Breast of any *Clergyman* whom this Kingdom shall produce.

BUT, whether the Consequences of these Bills may, by the Virtues and Frailties of future *Bishops*, sent over hither to rule the Church, terminate in Good and Evil, I shall not presume to determine, since God can work the *Former* out of the *Latter*. However, one Thing I can venture to assert; that from the earliest Ages of Christianity to the Minute I am now writing, there never was a Precedent of such a Proceeding, much less to be feared, hoped, or apprehended from such Hands in any Christian Country; and so it may pass for more than a *Phoenix*; because it hath risen without any Assistance from the *Ashes* of its *Sire*.

THE Appearance of so many *Dissenters* at the Hearing of this Cause, is what, I am told, hath not been charged to the Account of their Prudence or Moderation; because that Action hath been censured as a Mark of *Triumph* and Insult before the

Victory

Victory is compleat; since neither of these Bills hath yet passed the *House of Commons*, and some are pleased to think it not impossible that they may be rejected. Neither do I hear that there is an enacting Clause in either of the Bills to apply any Part of the divided or sub-divided Tythes, towards encreasing the Stipends of the *Sectaries*. So that these Gentlemen seem to be gratified like him, who, after having been kicked down Stairs, took Comfort when he saw his Friend kicked down after him.

I HAVE heard many more Objections against several Particulars of both these Bills; but they are of so high a Nature, and carry such dreadful *Innuendoes*, that I dare not mention them, resolving to give no Offence, because I well know how obnoxious I have long been (although I conceive without any Fault of my own) to the Zeal and Principles of those, who place all Difference in Opinion, concerning publick Matters, to the Score of *Disaffection*; whereof I am at least as innocent as the loudest of my *Detractors*.

Dublin, February 24.

1731-2.

A PRO-

A
P R O P O S A L
FOR GIVING
B A D G E S
TO THE
B E G G A R S
In all the
Parishes of *DUBLIN*.

By the Dean of St. PATRICK'S.

PROPOSAL

FOR

BADGES

TO

BEGGARS

IN

Parishes of DUBLIN.

By the Board of Commissioners.

A

P R O P O S A L

FOR GIVING

B A D G E S, &c.

IT hath been a general Complaint, that the Poor-House, especially since the new Constitution by Act of Parliament, hath been of no Benefit to this City, for the Ease of which it was wholly intended. I had the Honour to be a Member of it many Years before it was new modelled by the Legislature; not from any personal Regard, but merely as one of the two Deans, who are of Course put into most Commissions that relate to the City; and I have likewise the Honour to have been left out of several Commissions upon the Score of Party, in which my Predecessors, Time out of Mind, have always been Members.

THE first Commission was made up of about fifty Persons, which were, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, and some few other Citizens;
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the Judges, the two Archbishops, the two Deans of the City, and one or two more Gentlemen. And I must confess my Opinion, that the dissolving the old Commission, and establishing a new one of near three Times the Number, have been the great Cause of rendering so good a Design not only useless, but a Grievance instead of a Benefit to the City. In the present Commission all the City Clergy are included, besides a great Number of 'Squires, not only those who reside in *Dublin*, and the Neighbourhood, but several who live at a great Distance, and cannot possibly have the least Concern for the Advantage of the City.

At the few general Meetings that I have attended since the new Establishment, I observed very little was done except one or two Acts of extreme Justice, which I then thought might as well have been spared: And I have found the Court of Assistants usually taken up in little Brangles about Coachmen, or adjusting Accounts of Meal and Small Beer; which, however necessary, might sometimes have given Place to Matters of much greater Moment, I mean some Schemes recommended to the General Board, for answering the chief Ends in erecting and establishing such a Poor-House, and endowing it with so considerable a Revenue: And the principal End I take to have been that of maintaining the Poor and Orphans of the City, where the Parishes are not able to do it; and clearing the Streets from all Strollers, Foreigners, and sturdy Beggars, with which, to the universal Complaint and Admiration, *Dublin* is more infested since the Establishment of the Poor-House, than it was ever known to be since its first Erection.

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As the whole Fund for supporting this Hospital is raised only from the Inhabitants of the City; so there can be hardly any Thing more absurd than to see it misemployed in maintaining Foreign Beggars and Bastards, or Orphans, whose Country Landlords never contributed one Shilling towards their Support. I would engage, that half this Revenue, if employed with common Care, and no very great Degree of common Honesty, would maintain all the real Objects of Charity in this City, except a small Number of Original Poor in every Parish, who might without being burthensome to the Parishioners find a tolerable Support.

I HAVE for some Years past applied myself to several Lord-Mayors, and the late Archbishop of *Dublin*, for a Remedy to this Evil of Foreign Beggars; and they all appeared ready to receive a very plain Proposal, I mean, that of Badging the Original Poor of every Parish, who begged in the Streets; That, the said Beggars should be confined to their own Parishes; That, they should wear their Badges well sown upon one of their Shoulders, always visible, on Pain of being whipp'd and turned out of Town; or whatever legal Punishment may be thought proper and effectual. But, by the wrong Way of thinking in some Clergymen, and the Indifference of others, this Method was perpetually defeated, to their own continual Disquiet, which they do not ill deserve; and if the Grievance affected only them, it would be of less Consequence; because the Remedy is in their own Power: But, all Street-walkers, and Shop-keepers, bear an equal Share in this hourly Vexation.

I NEVER heard more than one Objection against this Expedient of Badging the Poor, and confining their Walks to their several Parishes.

The Objection was This: What shall we do with the Foreign Beggars? Must they be left to starve? I answered, No; but they must be driven or whipp'd out of Town; and let the next Country Parish do as they please, or rather after the Practice in *England*, send them from one Parish to another, until they reach their own Homes. By the old Laws of *England* still in Force, and I presume by those of *Ireland*, every Parish is bound to maintain its own Poor; and the Matter is of no such Consequence in this Point as some would make it, whether a Country Parish be rich or poor. In the remoter and poorer Parishes of the Kingdom, all Necessaries for Life proper for poor People are comparatively cheaper; I mean Butter-milk, Oat-meal, Potatoes, and other Vegetables; and every Farmer or Cottager who is not himself a Beggar, can sometimes spare a Sup or a Morsel, not worth the fourth Part of a Farthing, to an indigent Neighbour of his own Parish, who is disabled from Work. A Beggar Native of the Parish is known to the Squire, to the Church Minister, to the Popish Priest, or the Conventicle Teachers, as well as to every Farmer: He hath generally some Relations able to live, and contribute something to his Maintenance. None of which Advantages can be reasonably expected on a Removal to Places where he is altogether unknown. If he be not quite maimed, he and his Trull, and Litter of Brats (if he has any) may get half their Support by doing some Kind of Work in their Power, and thereby be less burthensome to the People. In short, all Necessaries of Life grow in the Country, and not in Cities, and are cheaper where they grow; nor is it equal that Beggars should put us to the Charge of giving them Victuals, and the Carriage too.

BUT,

BUT, when the Spirit of wandring takes him, attended by his Female, and their Equipage of Children, he becomes a Nuisance to the whole Country: He and his Female are Thieves, and teach the Trade of stealing to their Brood at four Years old; and if his Infirmities be counterfeit, it is dangerous for a single Person unarmed to meet him on the Road. He wanders from one County to another, but still with a View to this Town, whither he arrives at last, and enjoys all the Privileges of a *Dublin Beggar*.

I DO not wonder that the Country'Squires should be very willing to send up their Colonies; but why the City should be content to receive them, is beyond my Imagination.

IF the City were obliged by their Charter to maintain a thousand Beggars, they could do it cheaper by Eighty *per Cent.* a hundred Miles off, than in this Town, or any of its Suburbs.

THERE is no Village in *Connaught*, that in Proportion shares so deeply in the daily increasing Miseries of *Ireland*, as its Capital City; to which Miseries there hardly remained any Addition, except the perpetual Swarms of Foreign Beggars, who might be banished in a Month without Expence, and with very little Trouble.

As I am personally acquainted with a great Number of Street Beggars, I find some weak Attempts have been made in one or two Parishes to promote the wearing of Badges; and my first Question to those who ask an Alms is, *Where is your Badge?* I have in several Years met with about a Dozen who were ready to produce them, some out of their Pockets, others from under their Coat, and two or three on their Shoulders, only covered with a Sort of Capes which they could lift up or let

down upon Occasion. They are too lazy to work ; they are not afraid to steal, nor ashamed to beg, and yet are too proud to be seen with a Badge, as many of them have confessed to me, and not a few in very injurious Terms, particularly the Females. They all look upon such an Obligation as a high Indignity done to their Office. I appeal to all indifferent People whether such Wretches deserve to be relieved. As to myself, I must confess, this absurd Insolence hath so affected me, that for several Years past, I have not disposed of one single Farthing to a Street Beggar, nor intend to do so until I see a better Regulation ; and I have endeavoured to persuade all my Brother-walkers to follow my Example, which most of them assure me they do. For, if Beggary be not able to beat out Pride, it cannot deserve Charity. However, as to Persons in Coaches and Chairs, they bear but little of the Persecution we suffer, and are willing to leave it entirely upon us.

To say the Truth, there is not a more undeserving vicious Race of Human Kind than the Bulk of those who are reduced to Beggary, even in this beggarly Country. For, as a great Part of our publick Miseries is originally owing to our own Faults (but, what those Faults are I am grown by Experience too wary to mention) so I am confident, that among the meaner People, nineteen in twenty of those who are reduced to a starving Condition, did not become so by what Lawyers call the Work of God, either upon their Bodies or Goods ; but merely from their own Idleness, attended with all manner of Vices, particularly Drunkenness, Thievery, and Cheating.

WHOEVER enquires, as I have frequently done, from those who have asked me an Alms, what was

was their former Course of Life, will find them to have been Servants in good Families, broken Tradesmen, Labourers, Cottagers, and what they call decayed Housekeepers; but (to use their own Cant) reduced by Losses and Crosses, by which nothing can be understood but Idleness and Vice.

As this is the only Christian Country where People contrary to the old Maxim, are the Poverty and not the Riches of the Nation; so, the Blessing of Increase and Multiply is by us converted into a Curse: And, as Marriage hath been ever countenanced in all free Countries, so we should be less miserable if it were discouraged in ours, as far as can be consistent with Christianity. It is seldom known in *England*, that the Labourer, the lower Mechanick, the Servant, or the Cottager, thinks of marrying until he hath saved up a Stock of Money sufficient to carry on his Business; nor takes a Wife without a suitable Portion; and as seldom fails of making a yearly Addition to that Stock, with a View of providing for his Children. But, in this Kingdom the Case is directly contrary, where many thousand Couples are yearly married, whose whole united Fortunes, bating the Rags on their Backs, would not be sufficient to purchase a Pint of Butter-milk for their Wedding Supper, nor have any Prospect of supporting their *honourable State* but by Service, or Labour, or Thievery. Nay, their *Happiness* is often deferred until they find Credit to borrow, or Cunning to steal a Shilling to pay their Popish Priest, or infamous Couple-Beggar. Surely no miraculous Portion of Wisdom would be required to find some kind of Remedy against this destructive Evil, or at least, not to draw the Consequences of it upon our decaying
M 3 City,

City, the greatest Part whereof must of Course in a few Years become desolate, or in Ruins.

IN all other Nations, that are not absolutely barbarous, Parents think themselves bound by the Law of Nature and Reason to make some Provision for their Children; but the Reasons offered by the Inhabitants of *Ireland* for marrying, is, that they may have Children to maintain them when they grow old and unable to work.

I AM informed that we have been for some Time past extremely obliged to *England* for one very beneficial Branch of Commerce: For, it seems they are grown so gracious as to transmit us continually Colonies of Beggars, in return of a Million of Money they receive Yearly from hence. That I may give no Offence, I profess to mean real *English* Beggars in the literal Meaning of the Word; as it is usually understood by Protestants. It seems, the Justices of the Peace and Parish Officers in the Western Coasts of *England*, have a good while followed the Trade of exporting hither their supernumerary Beggars, in order to advance the *English* Protestant Interest among us; and, these they are so kind to send over *Gratis*, and Duty-free. I have had the Honour more than once to attend large Cargoes of them from *Chester* to *Dublin*: And I was then so ignorant as to give my Opinion, that our City should receive them into *Bridewell*, and after a Month's Residence, having been well whipt twice a Day, fed with Bran and Water, and put to hard Labour, they should be returned honestly back with Thanks as cheap as they came: Or, if that were not approved of, I proposed, that whereas one *Englishman* is allowed to be of equal intrinsic Value with twelve born in *Ireland*, we should in Justice return them a Dozen

zen for One, to dispose of as they pleased. But to return.

As to the native Poor of this City, there would be little or no Damage in confining them to their several Parishes. For Instance; a Beggar of the Parish of St. *Warborough's*, or any other Parish here, if he be an Object of Compassion, hath an equal Chance to receive his Proportion of Alms from every charitable Hand; because the Inhabitants, one or other, walk through every Street in Town, and give their Alms, without considering the Place, wherever they think it may be well disposed of: And these Helps added to what they get in Eatables by going from House to House, among the Gentry and Citizens, will, without being very burthensome, be sufficient to keep them alive.

It is true, the Poor of the Suburb Parishes will not have altogether the same Advantage, because they are not equally in the Road of Business and Passengers: But here it is to be considered, that the Beggars there have not so good a Title to Publick Charity, because most of them are Strollers from the Country, and compose a principal Part of that great Nuisance, which we ought to remove.

I SHOULD be apt to think, that few Things can be more irksome to a City-Minister, than a Number of Beggars which do not belong to his District, whom he hath no Obligation to take Care of, who are no Part of his Flock, and who take the Bread out of the Mouths of those, to whom it properly belongs. When I mention this Abuse to any Minister of a City-Parish, he usually lays the Fault upon the Beadles, who, he says, are bribed by the foreign Beggars; and, as those Beadles often keep Ale-Houses, they find their Account in such

Customers. This Evil might easily be remedied, if the Parishes would make some small Addition to the Salaries of a Beadle, and be more careful in the Choice of those Officers. But, I conceive there is one effectual Method, in the Power of every Minister to put in Practice; I mean, by making it the Interest of all his own original Poor, to drive out Intruders: For, if the Parish Beggars were absolutely forbidden by the Minister and Church-Officers, to suffer Strollers to come into the Parish, upon Pain of themselves being not permitted to beg Alms at the Church-Doors, or at the Houses and Shops of the Inhabitants; they would prevent Interlopers more effectually than twenty Beadles.

AND here I cannot but take Notice of the great Indiscretion of our City Shopkeepers, who suffer their Doors to be daily besieged by Crouds of Beggars (as the Gates of a Lord are by Duns,) to the great Disgust and Vexation of many Customers, whom I have frequently observed to go to other Shops, rather than suffer such a Persecution; which might easily be avoided, if no foreign Beggars were allowed to infest them.

WHEREFORE I do assert, that the Shopkeepers, who are the greatest Complainers of this Grievance, lamenting that for every Customer they are worried by fifty Beggars, do very well deserve what they suffer, when a 'Prentice with a Horse-Whip is able to lash every Beggar from the Shop, who is not of the Parish, and doth not wear the Badge of that Parish on his Shoulder, well fastned and fairly visible; and if this Practice were universal in every House, to all the sturdy Vagrants, we should in a few Weeks clear the Town of all Mendicants, except those who have a proper Title

to our Charity: As for the Aged and Infirm, it would be sufficient to give them nothing, and then they must starve or follow their Brethren.

It was the City that first endowed this Hospital, and those who afterwards contributed, as they were such who generally inhabited here; so they intended what they gave to be for the Use of the City's Poor. The Revenues which have since been raised by Parliament, are wholly paid by the City, without the least Charge upon any other Part of the Kingdom; and therefore nothing could more defeat the original Design, than to misapply those Revenues on strolling Beggars, or Bastards from the Country, which bears no Share in the Charges we are at.

If some of the Out-Parishes be over-burthened with Poor, the Reason must be, that the greatest Part of these Poor are Strollers from the Country, who nestle themselves where they can find the cheapest Lodgings, and from thence infest every Part of the Town, out of which they ought to be whipp'd as a most insufferable Nuisance, being nothing else but a profligate Clan of Thieves, Drunkards, Heathens, and Whore-mongers, fitter to be rooted out of the Face of the Earth, than suffered to levy a vast annual Tax upon the City, which shares too deep in the Publick Miseries brought on us by the Oppressions we lye under from our Neighbours, our Brethren, our Countrymen, our Fellow-Protestants and Fellow Subjects.

SOME Time ago I was appointed one of a Committee to enquire into the State of the Workhouse; where we found that a Charity was bestowed by a great Person for a certain Time, which in its Consequences operated very much to the Detriment of the House: For, when the Time was elapsed, all those

those who were supported by that Charity, continued on the same Foot with the rest on the Foundation; and being generally a Pack of profligate vagabond Wretches from several Parts of the Kingdom, corrupted all the rest; so partial, or treacherous, or interested, or ignorant, or mistaken are generally all Recommenders, not only to Employments, but even to Charity itself.

I KNOW it is complained, that the Difficulty of driving foreign Beggars out of the City is charged upon the *Bellowers* (as they are called) who find their Accounts best in suffering those Vagrants to follow their Trade through every Part of the Town. But this Abuse might easily be remedied, and very much to the Advantage of the whole City, if better Salaries were given to those who execute that Office in the several Parishes, and would make it their Interest to clear the Town of those Caterpillars, rather than hazard the Loss of an Employment that would give them an honest Livelihood. But, if that should fail, yet a general Resolution of never giving Charity to a Street Beggar out of his own Parish, or without a visible Badge, would infallibly force all Vagrants to depart.

THERE is generally a Vagabond Spirit in Beggars, which ought to be discouraged and severely punished. It is owing to the same Causes that drove them into Poverty; I mean, Idleness, Drunkenness, and rash Marriages without the least Prospect of supporting a Family by honest Endeavours; which never came into their Thoughts. It is observed, that hardly one Beggar in twenty looks upon himself to be relieved by receiving Bread or other Food; and they have in this Town been frequently seen to pour out of their Pitcher good Broth that hath been given them, into the Kennel; neither

ther do they much regard Cloaths, unless to sell them; for their Rags are Part of their Tools with which they work: They want only Ale, Brandy, and other strong Liquors, which cannot be had without Money; and, Money as they conceive, always abounds in the Metropolis.

I HAD some other Thoughts to offer upon this Subject. But, as I am a Desponder in my Nature, and have tolerably well discovered the Disposition of our People, who never will move a Step towards easing themselves from any one single Grievance; it will be thought, that I have already said too much, and to little or no Purpose; which hath often been the Fate or Fortune of the Writer,

J. SWIFT.

April 22, 1737.



SOME

SOME
REMARKS
ON THE
Barrier Treaty
BETWEEN
HER MAJESTY
AND THE
STATES-GENERAL.

To which are added,

The said BARRIER-TREATY,
with the two separate ARTICLES; Part of the
Counter-Project; The Sentiments of Prince
EUGENE and Count SINZENDORF, upon the
said Treaty: And a Representation of the *Eng-
lish* Merchants at *Bruges*.

WRITTEN in the YEAR 1712.

SOME
REMARKS
ON THE
Barrier Treaty
BETWEEN
HER MAJESTY
AND THE
STATES-GENERAL.

To which are added,

THE OLD BARRIER-TREATY
with the two separate Articles; Part of the
Cession-Project; The Sentiments of France
Hugues and Count Sinszendorff upon the
said Treaty: And a Representation of the
said Merchants at Breda.

Written in the Year 1713.

T H E
P R E F A C E.

*W*HEN I published the Discourse called, The Conduct of the Allies, I had Thoughts either of inserting or annexing the Barrier-Treaty at length, with such Observation, as I conceived might be useful for publick Information: But that Discourse taking up more Room than I designed, after my most utmost Endeavours to abbreviate it, I contented myself only with making some few Reflections upon that famous Treaty; sufficient, as I thought, to answer the Design of my Book. I have since heard, that my Readers in general, seemed to wish I had been more particular, and have discovered an Impatience to have that Treaty made publick, especially since it hath been laid before the House of Commons.

That I may give some Light to the Reader, who is not well versed in these Affairs, he may please to know, that a Project for a Treaty of Barrier with the States, was transmitted hither from Holland; but being disapproved of by our Court in several Parts, a new Project, or Scheme of a Treaty, was drawn up here, with many Additions and Alterations. This last was called the Counter-Project; and was the Measure whereby the Duke of Marlborough and my Lord Townshend

THE PREFACE.

Townshend were commanded and instructed to proceed, in negotiating a Treaty of Barrier with the States. I have added a Translation of this Counter-Project, in those Articles where it differs from the Barrier-Treaty, that the Reader, by comparing them together, may judge how punctually those Negotiators observed their Instructions. I have likewise subjoined the Sentiments of Prince Eugene of Savoy, and the Count de Sinzendorf, relating to this Treaty, written (I suppose) while it was negotiating. And lastly, I have added a Copy of the Representation of the British Merchants at Bruges, signifying what Inconveniences they already felt, and further apprehended from this Barrier Treaty.



SOME

S O M E
R E M A R K S
O N T H E
Barrier Treaty.

IMAGINE a reasonable Person in *China*, were reading the following Treaty, and one who was ignorant of our Affairs, or our Geography ; He would conceive their High Mightinesses the States-General, to be some vast powerful Common-wealth, like that of *Rome*, and her Majesty to be a petty Prince, like one of those to whom that Republick would sometimes send a Diadem for a Present, when they behaved themselves well ; otherwise could depose at Pleasure, and place whom they thought fit in his Stead. Such a Man would think, that the States had taken our Prince and Us into their *Protection* ; and in Return, honoured us so far, as to make use of our Troops as some small Assistance in their Conquests, and the Enlargement of their

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Empire; or to prevent the Incurſions of *Barbarians* upon ſome of their out-lying Provinces. But how muſt it ſound in an *European* Ear, that *Great-Britain*, after maintaining a War for ſo many Years, with ſo much Glory and Succeſs, and ſuch prodigious Expence; after ſaving the Empire, *Holland*, and *Portugal*, and almoſt recovering *Spain*, ſhould, towards the Cloſe of a War, enter into a Treaty with Seven *Dutch* Provinces, to ſecure to them a Dominion larger than their own, which ſhe had conquered for them; to undertake for a great deal more, without ſtipulating the leaſt Advantage for herſelf; and accept as an Equivalent, the mean Condition of thoſe States aſſiſting to preſerve her Queen on the Throne, whom, by God's Aſſiſtance, She is able to defend againſt all her Maſteſty's *Enemies* and *Allies* put together?

SUCH a wild Bargain could never have been made for Us, if the States had not found it their Intereſt to uſe very powerful Motives with the chief Advifers, (I ſay nothing of the Perſon immediately employed;) and if a Party here at Home had not been reſolved, for Ends and Purpoſes very well known, to continue the War as long as they had any Occaſion for it.

THE Counter-Project of this Treaty, made here at *London*, was bad enough in all Conſcience: I have ſaid ſomething of it in the *Preface*: Her Maſteſty's Miniſters were inſtructed to proceed by it in their Negociation. There was one Point in that Project, which would have been of Conſequence to *Britain*, and one or two more, where the Advantages of the States were not ſo very exorbitant, and where ſome Care was taken of the Houſe of *Austria*. Is it poſſible that our good *Allies* and *Friends* could

could not be brought to any Terms with us, unless by striking out every Particular that might do Us any good, and adding still more to Them, where so much was already granted? For Instance, the Article about demolishing of *Dunkirk*, surely might have remained; which was of some Benefit to the *States*, as well as of mighty Advantage to Us; and which the *French King* hath lately yielded in one of his Preliminaries, although clogged with the Demand of an Equivalent, which will owe its Difficulty only to this Treaty.

BUT, let me now consider the Treaty itself: Among the one and twenty Articles of which it consists, only two have any Relation to Us, importing, that the *Dutch* are to be Guarantees of our Succession, and are not to enter into any Treaty until the Queen is acknowledged by *France*. We know very well, that it is in Consequence the Interest of the States, as much as ours, that *Britain* should be governed by a Protestant Prince. Besides, what is there more in this Guarantee, than in all common Leagues Offensive and Defensive between two Powers, where each is obliged to defend the other against any Invader, with all their Strength? Such was the Grand Alliance between the Emperor, *Britain*, and *Holland*, which was, or ought to have been, as good a Guarantee of our Succession, to all Intents and Purposes, as this in the *Barrier-Treaty*; and the mutual Engagements in such Alliances have been always reckoned sufficient, without any separate Benefit to either Party.

It is, no doubt, for the Interest of *Britain*, that the States should have a sufficient Barrier against *France*: But their High Mightinesses, for some few Years past, have put a different Meaning upon the Word *Barrier*, from what it formerly used to bear,

when applied to them. When the late King was Prince of *Orange*, and commanded their Armies against *France*, it was never once imagined that any of the Towns taken, should belong to the *Dutch*; they were all immediately delivered up to their lawful Monarch; and *Flanders* was only a Barrier to *Holland*, as it was in the Hands of *Spain* rather than *France*. So in the Grand Alliance of 1701, the several Powers promising to endeavour to recover *Flanders* for a Barrier, was understood to be the recovering those Provinces to the King of *Spain*: But in this Treaty, the Style is wholly changed: Here are about twenty Towns and Forts of great Importance, with their Chatellanies and Dependencies (which Dependencies are likewise to be enlarged as much as possible) and the whole Revenues of them, to be under the perpetual Military Government of the *Dutch*, by which that Republick will be entirely Masters of the richest Part of all *Flanders*: And upon any Appearance of War, they may put their Garrisons into any other Place of the *Low-Countries*; and farther, the King of *Spain* is to give them a Revenue of Four hundred thousand Crowns a Year, to enable them to maintain those Garrisons.

WHY should we wonder, that the *Dutch* are inclined to perpetuate the War, when, by an Article in this Treaty, the King of *Spain* is *not to possess one single Town in the Low-Countries, until a Peace be made*. The Duke of *Anjou* at the Beginning of this War, maintained Six and thirty thousand Men out of those *Spanish* Provinces he then possessed: To which if we add the many Towns since taken, which were not in the late King of *Spain's* Possession at the Time of his Death, with all their Territories and Dependencies; it is visible what Forces the

the States may be able to keep, even without any Charge to their peculiar Dominions.

THE Towns and Chatellanies of this Barrier, always maintained their Garrisons when they were in the Hands of *France*; and, as it is reported, returned a considerable Sum of Money into the King's Coffers; yet the King of *Spain* is obliged by this Treaty (as we have already observed) to add, over and above, a Revenue of Four hundred thousand Crowns a Year. We know likewise, that a great Part of the Revenue of the *Spanish Netherlands* is already pawned to the *States*; so, that after a Peace, nothing will be left to the Sovereign, nor will the People be much eased of the Taxes they at present labour under.

THUS the States, by Virtue of this *Barrier-Treaty*, will, in Effect, be absolute Sovereigns of all *Flanders*, and of the whole Revenues in the utmost Extent.

AND here I cannot, without some Contempt, take notice of a Sort of Reasoning offered by several People; that the many Towns we have taken for the *Dutch* are of no Advantage, because the whole Revenues of those Towns are spent in maintaining them. For first, The Fact is manifestly false, particularly as to *Lisle*, and some others: Secondly, The States, after a Peace, are to have Four hundred thousand Crowns a Year out of the Remainder of *Flanders*, which is then to be left to *Spain*: And lastly, Suppose all these acquired Dominions will not bring a Penny into their Treasury, what can be of greater Consequence, than to be able to maintain a mighty Army out of their new Conquests; which before, they always did by taxing their natural Subjects?

How shall we be able to answer it to King

Charles III. that while we pretend to endeavour restoring him to the entire Monarchy of *Spain*, we join at the same Time with the *Dutch*, to deprive him of his natural Right to the *Low-Countries*?

BUT suppose, by a *Dutch Barrier*, must now be understood, only what is to be in Possession of the States; yet even under this Acceptation of the Word, nothing was originally meant except a *Barrier* against *France*; whereas several Towns demanded by the *Dutch* in this Treaty, can be of no Use at all in such a *Barrier*. And this is the Sentiment even of Prince *Eugene* himself (the present Oracle and Idol of the Party here) who says, *That Dendermond, Ostend, and the Castle of Grand, do in no Sort belong to the Barrier, nor can be of other Use than to make the States-General Masters of the Low-Countries, and hinder their Trade with England.* And further, *That those who are acquainted with the Country, know very well, that Lier and Hale to fortify, can give no Security to the States as a Barrier, but only raise a Jealousy in the People, that these Places are only fortified in order to block up Brussels, and the other great Towns of Brabant.*

IN those Towns of *Flanders* where the *Dutch* are to have Garrisons, but the Ecclesiastical and Civil Power to remain to the King of *Spain* after a Peace; the States have Power to send Arms, Ammunition, and Victuals, without paying Customs; under which Pretence, they will engross the whole Trade of those Towns, exclusive to all other Nations.

THIS, Prince *Eugene* likewise foresaw, and in his Observations upon this Treaty here annexed, proposed a Remedy for it.

AND if the *Dutch* shall please to think, that the whole *Spanish Netherlands* are not a sufficient *Barrier* for them, I know no Remedy from the Words
of

of this Treaty, but that we must still go on, and conquer for them as long as they please. For the QUEEN is obliged whenever a Peace is treated, to procure for them *whatever shall be thought necessary* besides; and where their Necessity will terminate, is not very easy to foresee.

COULD any of her Majesty's Subjects conceive, that in the Towns we have taken for the *Dutch*, and given into their Possession as a *Barrier*, either the States should demand, or our *Ministers* allow, that the Subjects of *Britain* should, in Respect to their Trade, be used worse in those very Towns, than they were under the late King of *Spain*? Yet this is the Fact, as monstrous as it appears: All Goods going to, or coming from *Newport* or *Ostend*, are to pay the same Duties as those that pass by the *Scheld* under the *Dutch* Forts: And this, in Effect, is to shut out all other Nations from trading to *Flanders*. The *English* Merchants at *Bruges* complain, That *after they have paid the King of Spain's Duty for Goods imported at Ostend, the same Goods are made liable to further Duties, when they are carried from thence into the Towns of the Dutch new Conquests*; and desire only *the same Privileges of Trade they had before the Death of the late King of Spain, Charles II.* And in Consequence of this Treaty, the *Dutch* have already taken off eight *per Cent.* from all Goods they send to the *Spanish Flanders*, but left it still upon us.

BUT what is very surprizing; in the very same Article where *our good Friends and Allies* are wholly shutting us out from trading in those Towns we have conquered for them with so much Blood and Treasure; the QUEEN is obliged to procure, that the States shall be used as favourably in their Trade over all the King of *Spain's* Dominions, as

her own Subjects, or *as the People most favoured*. This I humbly conceive to be perfect Boys Play, *Crofs I win, and Pile you lose*; or, *What's yours is mine, and what's mine is my own*. Now if it should happen, that in a Treaty of Peace, some Ports or Towns should be yielded us for the Security of our Trade in any Part of the *Spanish* Dominions, at how great a Distance soever; I suppose, the *Dutch* would go on with their Boys Play, and *challenge Half* by Virtue of that Article: Or, would they be content with the Military Government and the Revenues, and reckon them among *what shall be thought necessary* for their Barrier?

THIS prodigious Article is introduced, as subsequent to the Treaty of *Munster*, made about the Year 1648, at a Time when *England* was in the utmost Confusion, and very much to our Disadvantage. Those Parts in that Treaty, so unjust in themselves, and so prejudicial to our Trade, ought in Reason, to have been remitted, rather than confirmed upon us for the Time to come: But this is *Dutch* Partnership, to share in all our *beneficial Bargains*, and exclude us wholly from theirs, even from those which we have got for them.

IN one Part of *The Conduct of the Allies*, &c. among other Remarks upon this Treaty, I make it a Question, whether it were right in Point of Policy or Prudence, to call in a foreign Power to be Guarantee to our Succession; because by that Means, *we put it out of the Power of our Legislature to alter the Succession, how much soever the Necessity of the Kingdom may require it?* To comply with the Cautions of some People, I explained my Meaning in the following Editions. I was assured, that my L——d C——f J——e affirmed that Passage was Treason; one of my Answerers, I think,

think, decides as favourably; and I am told, that Paragraph was read very lately during a Debate, with a Comment in very injurious Terms, which, perhaps, might have been spared. That the Legislature should have Power to change the Succession, whenever the Necessities of the Kingdom require, is so very useful towards preserving our Religion and Liberty, that I know not how to recant. The worst of this Opinion is, that at first Sight it appears to be *Whiggish*; but the Distinction is thus, The *Whigs* are for changing the Succession when they think fit, although the entire Legislature do not consent; I think it ought never to be done but upon great Necessity, and that with the Sanction of the whole Legislature. Do these Gentlemen of Revolution Principles think it impossible, that we should ever have Occasion again to change our Succession? And, if such an Accident should fall out, must we have no Remedy, until the seven Provinces will give their Consent? Suppose that this virulent Party among us were as able, as some are willing, to raise a Rebellion for re-instating them in Power, and would apply themselves to the *Dutch*, as Guarantees of our Succession, to assist them with all their Force, under Pretence that the QUEEN and Ministry, a great Majority of both Houses, and the Bulk of the People were for bringing over *France*, Popery, and the Pretender? Their High Mightinesses would, as I take it, be sole Judges of the Controversy, and probably decide it so well, that in some Time we might have the Happiness of becoming a Province to *Holland*. I am humbly of Opinion, that there are two Qualities necessary to a Reader, before his Judgment should be allowed; these are, common Honesty, and common Sense; and that no Man could have misre-

misrepresented that Paragraph in my Discourse, unless he were utterly destitute of one or both.

THE Presumptive Successor, and her immediate Heirs, have so established a Reputation in the World, for their Piety, Wisdom, and Humanity, that no Necessity of this Kind, is like to appear in their Days; but I must still insist, that it is a Diminution to the Independency of the Imperial Crown of *Great-Britain*, to call at every Door for Help to put our Laws in Execution: And we ought to consider, that if in Ages to come, such a Prince should happen to be in Succession to our Throne, who should be entirely unable to govern; that very Motive might incline our Guarantees to support him, the more effectually to bring the Rivals of their Trade into Confusion and Disorder.

BUT to return: The QUEEN is here put under the unreasonable Obligation of being Guarantee of the whole Barrier-Treaty, of the *Dutch* having Possession of the said Barrier, and the Revenues thereof, before a Peace; of the Payment of four hundred thousand Crowns by the King of *Spain*; that the States shall possess their Barrier, even before King *Charles* is in Possession of the *Spanish* Netherlands: Although by the fifth Article of the Grand Alliance, her Majesty is under no Obligation to do any Thing of this Nature, except in a general Treaty.

ALL Kings, Princes, and States are invited to enter into this Treaty, and to be Guarantees of its Execution. This Article, although very frequent in Treaties, seems to look very oddly in that of the Barrier. Popish Princes are here invited among others, to become Guarantees of our Protestant Succession: Every petty Prince in *Germany* must be intreated to preserve the QUEEN of *Great-Britain*

tain upon her Throne: The King of *Spain* is invited particularly and by Name, to become Guarantee of the Execution of a Treaty, by which his Allies, who pretend to fight his Battles, and recover his Dominions, strip him in Effect of all his ten Provinces: A clear Reason why they never sent any Forces to *Spain*, and why the Obligation not to enter into a Treaty of Peace with *France*, until that entire Monarchy were yielded as a Preliminary, was struck out of the Counter-Project by the *Dutch*. They fought only in *Flanders*, because there they only fought for themselves. King *Charles* must needs accept his Invitation very kindly, and stand by with great Satisfaction, while the *Belgick* Lyon divides the Prey, and assigns it all to himself. I remember there was a Parcel of Soldiers who robbed a Farmer of his Poultry, and then made him wait at Table while they devoured his Victuals, without giving him a Morsel; and upon his expostulating, had only for Answer, Why, Sirrah, are we not come here to protect you? And thus much for this generous Invitation to all Kings and Princes, to lend their Assistance, and become Guarantees, out of pure good Nature, for securing *Flanders* to the *Dutch*.

In the Treaty of *Ryswick*, no Care was taken to oblige the *French* King to acknowledge the Right of Succession in her present Majesty; for Want of which Point being then settled, *France* refused to acknowledge her for Queen of *Great-Britain*, after the late King's Death. This unaccountable Neglect (if it were a Neglect) is here called an Omission, and Care is taken to supply it in the next General Treaty of Peace. I mention this occasionally, because I have some stubborn Doubts within me, whether it were a wilful Omission

fion or no. Neither do I herein reflect in the least upon the Memory of his late Majesty, whom I entirely acquit of any Imputation upon this Matter. But when I recollect the Behaviour, the Language, and the Principles of some certain Persons in those Days, and compare them with that Omission; I am tempted to draw some Conclusions which a certain Party would be more ready to call false and malicious, than to prove them so.

I MUST here take Leave (because it will not otherwise fall in my Way) to say a few Words in return to a Gentleman, I know not of what Character or Calling, who hath done me the Honour to write three Discourses against that Treatise of *The Conduct of the Allies*, &c. and promises, for my Comfort, to conclude all in a fourth. I pity Answerers with all my Heart, for the many Disadvantages they lie under. My Book did a World of Mischief (as he calls it) before his first Part could possibly come out; and so went on through the Kingdom, while his limped slow after; and if it arrived at all, it was too late; for People's Opinions were already fixed. His Manner of answering me is thus: Of those Facts which he pretends to examine, some he resolutely denies, others he endeavours to extenuate, and the rest he distorts with such unnatural Turns, that I would engage by the same Method, to disprove any History, either ancient or modern. Then the Whole is interlarded with a thousand injurious Epithets and Appellations, which heavy Writers are forced to make Use of, as a Supply for that Want of Spirit and Genius they are not born to: Yet, after all, he allows a very great Point for which I contend, confessing in plain Words, that the Burthen of the War hath chiefly lain upon us; and
thinks,

thinks it sufficient for the *Dutch*, that, next to *England*, they have born the greatest Share. And is not this the great Grievance of which the whole Kingdom complains? I am inclined to think, that my Intelligence was at least as good as his; and some of it, I can assure him, came from Persons of his own Party, although perhaps not altogether so inflamed. Hitherto therefore, the Matter is pretty equal, and the World may believe him or me as they please. But, I think, the great Point of Controversy between us, is, Whether the Effects and Consequences of Things follow better from his Premisses or mine: And there I will not be satisfied, unless he will allow the whole Advantage to be on my Side. Here is a flourishing Kingdom brought to the Brink of Ruin, by a most successful and glorious War of ten Years, under an able, diligent, and loyal Ministry; a most faithful, just, and generous Commander; and in Conjunction with the most hearty, reasonable, and sincere Allies: This is the Case as that Author represents it. I have heard a Story, I think it was of the Duke of **, who playing at Hazard at the Groom-Porters in much Company, held in a great many Hands together, and drew a huge Heap of Gold; but in the Heat of Play, never observed a Sharper, who came once or twice under his Arm, and swept a great deal of it into his Hat: The Company thought it had been one of his Servants: When the Duke's Hand was out, they were talking how much he had won: Yes, said he, I held in very long; yet, methinks, I have won but very little: They told him, his SERVANT had got the rest in his Hat; and then he found he was cheated.

It hath been my good Fortune to see the most important Facts that I have advanced, justified by the

the publick Voice; which, let this Author do what he can, will incline the World to believe, that I may be right in the rest: And I solemnly declare, that I have not wilfully committed the least Mistake. I stopt the second Edition, and made all possible Enquiries among those who I thought could best inform me, in order to correct any Error I could hear of: I did the same to the third and fourth Editions, and then left the Printer to his Liberty. This I take for a more effectual Answer to all Cavils, than an hundred Pages of Controversy.

BUT what disgusts me from having any Thing to do with this Race of Answer-Jobbers, is, that they have no Sort of Conscience in their Dealings: To give one Instance in this Gentleman's third Part, which I have been lately looking into. When I talk of the most petty Princes, he says, I mean crowned Heads: When I say, the Soldiers of those petty Princes are ready to rob or starve at Home; he says, I call Kings and crowned Heads, Robbers and Highwaymen. This is what the Whigs call answering a Book.

I CANNOT omit one Particular concerning this Author, who is so positive in asserting his own Facts, and contradicting mine; he affirms, that the Business of *Thoulon* was discovered by the Clerk of a certain Great Man, who was then Secretary of State. It is neither wise, nor for the Credit of his Party, to put us in Mind either of that Secretary, or of that Clerk; however, so it happens, that nothing relating to the Affair of *Thoulon*, did ever pass through that Secretary's Office: Which I here affirm, with great Phlegm, leaving the Epithets of false, scandalous, villainous, and the rest, to the Author and his Fellows.

BUT

BUT to leave this Author; let us consider the Consequence of our Triumphs, upon which some set so great a Value, as to think that nothing less than the Crown can be a sufficient Reward for the Merit of the General. We have not enlarged our Dominions by one Foot of Land: Our Trade, which made us considerable in the World, is either given up by Treaties, or clogged with Duties, which interrupt and daily lessen it: We see the whole Nation groaning under excessive Taxes of all Sorts, to raise three Millions of Money for Payment of the Interest of those Debts we have contracted. Let us look upon the Reverse of the Medal, we shall see our Neighbours, who in their utmost Distress, called for our Assistance, become, by this Treaty, even in Time of Peace, Masters of a more considerable Country than their own; in a Condition to strike Terror into us, with fifty thousand *Veterans* ready to invade us, from that Country which we have conquered for them; and to commit insolent Hostilities upon us, in all other Parts, as they have lately done in the *East-Indies*.

The BARRIER-TREATY between her Majesty and the States-General.

HER Majesty the Queen of Great-Britain, and the Lords the States-General of the United Provinces, having considered how much it concerns the Quiet and the Security of their Kingdoms, and States, and the publick Tranquillity, to maintain and to secure on one Side the Succession to the Crown of Great-Britain, in such Manner as it is now established by the Laws of the Kingdom; and on the other Side, That the States-General of the United Provinces, should have a strong and sufficient Barrier against France,

France, and others, who would surprize or attack them: And her Majesty, and the said States-General apprehending, with just Reason, the Troubles and the Mischiefs which may happen, in relation to this Succession, if at any Time there should be any Person or any Power who should call it in Question; and that the Countries and States of the said Lords the States-General, were not furnished with such a Barrier: For these said Reasons, her said Majesty the Queen of Great-Britain, although in the Vigour of her Age, and enjoying perfect Health, (which may GOD preserve her in many Years) out of an Effect of her usual Prudence and Piety, has thought fit to enter, with the Lords the States-General of the United Provinces, into a particular Alliance and Confederacy; the principal End, and only Aim of which, shall be the publick Quiet and Tranquillity; and to prevent, by Measures taken in Time, all the Events which might one Day excite new War. It is with this View, that her British Majesty has given her full Power to agree upon some Articles of a Treaty, in Addition to the Treaties and Alliances that she hath already with the Lords the States-General of the United Provinces, to her Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Charles Viscount Townshend, Baron of Lyn-Regis, Privy-Counsellor to her British Majesty, Captain of her said Majesty's Yeomen of the Guard, and her Lieutenant in the County of Norfolk: And the Lords the States-General of the United Provinces, the Sieurs John de Welderen, Lord of Valburgh, Great Bayliff of the Lower Betewe, of the Body of the Nobility of the Province of Guelder; Frederick Baron of Reede, Lord of Lier, St. Anthony and T'er Lee, of the Order of the Nobility of the Province of Holland, and West-Friezeland; Anthony Heinsius, Counsellor Pensionary

*nary of the Province of Holland and West-Frieze-
land, Keeper of the Great-Seal, and Super-Intendant
of the Fiefs of the same Province; Cornelius Van
Gheet, Lord of Spranbrock, Bulkeysteyn, &c.
Gedeon Hoeuft, Canon of the Chapter of the Church
of St. Peter at Utrecht, and elected Counsellor in
the States of the Province of Utrecht; Hassel Van
Sminia, Secretary of the Chamber of the Accounts of
the Province of Frieze-land; Ernest Ittersum, Lord
of Osterbof, of the Body of the Nobility of the Pro-
vince of Overysfel; and Wicher Wichers, Senator
of the City of Groningen; all Deputies to the Af-
sembly of the said Lords the States-General on the one
Part respectively of the Provinces of Guelder, Hol-
land, West-Frieze-land, Zeeland, Utrecht, Frieze-
land, Overysfel, and Groningen, and Ommelands,
who, by Virtue of their full Powers, are agreed upon
the following Articles :*

ARTICLE I.

THE Treaties of Peace, Friendship, Alli-
ance and Confederacy between her *Britan-
nick* Majesty and the States-General of the Uni-
ted Provinces, shall be approved and confirmed by
the present Treaty, and shall remain in their for-
mer Force and Vigour, as if they were inserted
Word for Word.

ARTICLE II.

THE Succession to the Crown of *England*
having been settled by an Act of Parliament,
passed the twelfth Year of the Reign of his late
Majesty King *William III.* the Title of which is,
*An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown,
and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the
Subject :* And lately, in the sixth Year of the Reign

of her present Majesty, this Succession having been again established and confirmed by another Act made for the greater Security of her Majesty's Person and Government, and the Succession to the Crown of *Great-Britain, &c.* in the Line of the most serene House of *Hanover*, and in the Person of the Princess *Sophia*, and of her Heirs, Successors, and Descendants, Male and Female, already born or to be born: And although no Power hath any Right to oppose the Laws made upon this Subject, by the Crown and Parliament of *Great-Britain*; if it shall happen, nevertheless, that under any Pretence, or by any Cause whatever, any Person, or any Power or State may pretend to dispute the Establishment which the Parliament hath made of the aforesaid Succession, in the most serene House of *Hanover*, to oppose the said Succession, to assist or favour those who may oppose it, whether directly or indirectly, by open War, or by fomenting Seditions and Conspiracies against her, or him, to whom the Crown of *Great-Britain* shall descend, according to the Acts aforesaid; the States-General engage, and promise to assist and maintain, in the said Succession, her, or him, to whom it shall belong, by Virtue of the said Acts of Parliament, to assist them in taking Possession, if they should not be in actual Possession, and to oppose those who would disturb them in the taking such Possession, or in the actual Possession of the aforesaid Succession.

A R T I C L E III.

H E R said Majesty and the States-General, in Consequence of the fifth Article of the Alliance concluded between the Emperor, the late King of *Great-Britain*, and the States-General, the 7th of
September

September 1701, will employ all their Force to recover the rest of the *Spanish* Low-Countries.

ARTICLE IV.

AND further, they will endeavour to conquer as many Towns and Forts as they can, in order to their being a Barrier and Security to the said States.

ARTICLE V.

AND whereas, according to the ninth Article of the said Alliance, it is to be agreed, amongst other Matters, how, and in what Manner the States shall be made safe by Means of this Barrier, the QUEEN of *Great-Britain* will use her Endeavours to procure, that in the Treaty of Peace it may be agreed, that all the *Spanish* Low-Countries, and what else may be found necessary, whether conquered or unconquered Places, shall serve as a Barrier to the States.

ARTICLE VI.

THAT to this End, their High Mightinesses shall have the Liberty to put and keep Garrison, to change, augment and diminish it as they shall judge proper, in the Places following: Namely, *Newport, Furnes*, with the Fort of *Knocke, Ypres, Menin*, the Town and Citadel of *Lisle, Tournay* and its Citadel, *Conde, Valenciennes*; and the Places which shall from henceforward be conquered from *France: Maubeuge, Charleroy, Namure* and its Citadel, *Lire, Halle* to fortify, the Ports of *Perle, Philippe, Damme*, the Castle of *Gand*, and *Dendermonde*; the Fort of *St. Donas* being joined to the Fortifications of the *Sluce*, and being entirely incorporated with it, shall remain and be yield-

ed in Property to the States. The Fort of *Roden-buysen*, on this Side *Gand*, shall be demolished.

ARTICLE VII.

THE said States-General may, in case of an apparent Attack, or War, put as many Troops as they shall think necessary, in all the Towns, Places, and Forts in the *Spanish* Low-Countries, where the Reason of War shall require it.

ARTICLE VIII.

THEY may likewise send into the Towns, Forts, and Places, where they shall have their Garrisons, without any Hindrance, and without paying any Duties, Provisions, Ammunitions of War, Arms, and Artillery, Materials for the Fortifications, and all that shall be found convenient and necessary for the said Garrisons and Fortifications.

ARTICLE IX.

THE said States-General shall also have Liberty to appoint in the Towns, Forts, and Places of their Barrier, mentioned in the foregoing sixth Article, where they may have Garrisons, such Governors and Commanders, Majors, and other Officers, as they shall find proper, who shall not be subject to any other Orders, whatsoever they may be, or from whencesoever they may come, relating to the Security and Military Government of the said Places, but only to those of their High Mightinesses (exclusive of all others;) still preserving the Rights and Privileges, as well Ecclesiastical as Political, of King *Charles III.*

ARTICLE X.

THAT, besides, the States shall have Liberty to fortify the said Towns, Places, and Forts which belong to them, and repair the Fortifications of them, in such Manner as they shall judge necessary; and further, to do whatever shall be useful for their Defence.

ARTICLE XI.

IT is agreed, that the States-General shall have all the Revenues of the Towns, Places, Jurisdictions, and their Dependencies, which they shall have for their Barrier from *France*, which were not in the Possession of the Crown of *Spain*, at the Time of the Death of the late King *Charles II.* and besides, a Million of Livres shall be settled for the Payment of one hundred thousand Crowns every three Months, out of the clearest Revenues of the *Spanish* Low-Countries, which the said King was then in Possession of; both which are for maintaining the Garrisons of the States, and for supplying the Fortifications, as also the Magazines, and other necessary Expences, in the Towns and Places above mentioned. And that the said Revenues may be sufficient to support these Expences, Endeavours shall be used for enlarging the Dependencies and Jurisdictions aforesaid, as much as possible; and particularly for including with the Jurisdiction of *Ypres*, that of *Cassel*, and the Forest of *Niepe*; and with the Jurisdiction of *Lisle*, the Jurisdiction of *Douay*, both having been so joined before the present War.

ARTICLE XII.

THAT no Town, Fort, Place, or Country of the *Spanish* Low-Countries, shall be granted, transferred, or given, or descend to the Crown of *France*, or any of the Line of *France*, neither by Virtue of any Gift, Sale, Exchange, Marriage, Agreement, Inheritance, Succession by Will, or through Want of Will, from no Title whatsoever, nor in any other Manner whatever, nor be put into the Power, or under the Authority of the most Christian King, or any one of the Line of *France*.

ARTICLE XIII.

AND whereas the said States-General, in Consequence of the ninth Article of the said Alliance, are to make a Convention or Treaty with King *Charles* III. for putting the States in a Condition of Safety, by Means of the said Barrier, the QUEEN of *Great-Britain* will do what depends upon her, that all the foregoing Particulars, relating to the Barrier of the States, may be inserted in the aforesaid Treaty or Convention; and that her said Majesty will continue her good Offices, until the above mentioned Convention between the States and the said King *Charles* III. be concluded, agreeably to what is before mentioned; and that her Majesty will be Guarantee of the said Treaty or Convention.

ARTICLE XIV.

AND that the said States may enjoy from henceforward, as much as possible, a Barrier for the *Spanish* Low-Countries, they shall be permitted to put their Garrisons in the Towns already taken,
and

and which may hereafter be so, before the Peace be concluded and ratified. And in the mean Time, the said King *Charles III.* shall not be allowed to enter into Possession of the said *Spanish* Low-Countries, neither entirely nor in Part; and during that Time, the QUEEN shall assist their High Mightinesses to maintain them in the Enjoyment of the Revenues, and to find the Million of Livres a Year, above mentioned.

A R T I C L E X V.

AND whereas, their High Mightinesses have stipulated by the Treaty of *Munster*, in the fourteenth Article, That the River *Scheld*, as also the Canals of *Sas*, *Swan*, and other Mouths of the Sea bordering thereupon, should be kept shut on the Side of the States.

AND in the fifteenth Article, That the Ships and Commodities going in and coming out of the Harbours of *Flanders*, shall be and remain charged with all such Imposts and other Duties as are raised upon Commodities going and coming along the *Scheld*, and the other Canals above mentioned:

THE QUEEN of *Great-Britain* promises and engages, That their High Mightinesses shall never be disturbed in their Right and Possession, in that Respect, neither directly nor indirectly; as also that the Commerce shall not, in prejudice of the said Treaty, be made more easy by the Sea-Ports than by the Rivers, Canals, and Mouths of the Sea, on the Side of the States of the United Provinces, neither directly nor indirectly.

AND whereas, by the 16th and 17th Articles of the same Treaty of *Munster*, his Majesty the King of *Spain* is obliged to treat the Subjects of their High Mightinesses as favourably as the Subjects of

Great-Britain, and the *Hans Towns*, who were then the People most favourably treated: Her *Britannick* Majesty and their High Mightinesses promise likewise, to take Care that the Subjects of *Great-Britain*, and of their High Mightinesses, shall be treated in the *Spanish* Low-Countries, as well as in *Spain*, the Kingdoms and States belonging to it, equally, and as well the one as the other, as the People most favoured.

A R T I C L E X V I .

THE said QUEEN and States-General oblige themselves to furnish, by Sea and Land, the Succours and Assistance necessary to maintain, by Force her said Majesty in the quiet Possession of her Kingdoms; and the most serene House of *Hanover* in the said Succession, in the Manner it is settled by the Acts of Parliament before mentioned; and to maintain the said States-General in the Possession of the said Barrier.

A R T I C L E X V I I .

AFTER the Ratifications of the Treaty, a particular Convention shall be made of the Conditions by which the said QUEEN, and the said Lords, the States-General, will engage themselves to furnish the Succours which shall be thought necessary, as well by Sea as Land.

A R T I C L E X V I I I .

IF her *British* Majesty, or the States-General of the United-Provinces, be attacked by any Body whatsoever, by Reason of this Convention, they shall mutually assist one another with all their Forces, and become Guarantees of the Execution of the said Convention.

A R-

ARTICLE XIX.

THERE shall be invited and admitted into the present Treaty, as soon as possible, all the Kings, Princes, and States, who shall be willing to enter into the same, particularly his Imperial Majesty, the Kings of *Spain* and *Prussia*, and the Elector of *Hanover*. And her *British* Majesty, and the States-General of the United-Provinces, and each of them in particular, shall be permitted to require and invite those whom they shall think fit to require and invite, to enter into this Treaty, and to be Guarantees of its Execution.

ARTICLE XX.

AND as Time hath shewn the Omission which was made in the Treaty signed at *Ryswick* in the Year 1697, between *England* and *France*, in respect of the Right of the Succession of *England*, in the Person of her Majesty the QUEEN of *Great-Britain*, now reigning; and that for Want of having settled in that Treaty, this indisputable Right of her Majesty, *France* refused to acknowledge her for QUEEN of *Great-Britain*, after the Death of the late King *William III.* of Glorious Memory: Her Majesty, the QUEEN of *Great-Britain*, and the Lords the States-General of the United Provinces, do agree and engage themselves likewise, not to enter into any Negotiation or Treaty of Peace with *France*, before the Title of her Majesty to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, as also the Right of Succession of the most serene House of *Hanover*, to the aforesaid Crown, in the Manner it is settled and established by the before-mentioned Acts of Parliament, be fully acknowledged,

ledged, as a Preliminary by *France*, and that *France* hath promised at the same Time, to remove out of its Dominions, the Person who pretends to be King of *Great-Britain*; and that no Negotiation or formal Discussion of the Articles of the said Treaty of Peace shall be entered into, but jointly and at the same Time with the said QUEEN, or with her Ministers.

A R T I C L E XXI.

HER *British* Majesty, and the Lords the States-General of the United-Provinces, shall ratify and confirm all that is contained in the present Treaty, within the Space of four Weeks, to be reckoned from the Day of the Signing. In Testimony whereof, the underwritten Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of her *British* Majesty, and the Deputies of the Lords the States-General have signed this present Treaty, and have affixed their Seals thereunto.

At the Hague, the 29th of Oct. in the Year 1709.

(L. S.) *Townshend.*

(L. S.) *J. B. Van Reede.*

(L. S.) *G. Hoeuft.*

(L. S.) *E. V. Iltersum.*

(L. S.) *J. V. Welderen.*

(L. S.) *A. Heinsius.*

(L. S.) *H. Sminia.*

(L. S.) *W. Wichers.*

The

The separate ARTICLE.

AS in the Preliminary Articles signed here at the Hague the 28th of May 1709, by the Plenipotentiaries of his Imperial Majesty, of her Majesty the QUEEN of Great-Britain, and of the Lords the States-General of the United-Provinces, it is stipulated, amongst other Things, that the Lords the States-General shall have, with entire Property and Sovereignty, the Upper Quarter of Guelder, according to the fifty-second Article of the Treaty of Munster, of the Year 1648; as also, that the Garrisons which are, or hereafter shall be on the Part of the Lords the States-General in the Town of Huy, the Citadel of Liege, and in the Town of Bonne, shall remain there, until it shall be otherwise agreed upon with his Imperial Majesty and the Empire. And, as the Barrier which is this Day agreed upon in the principal Treaty, for the mutual Guaranty between her British Majesty and the Lords the States-General, cannot give to the United-Provinces the Safety for which it is established, unless it be well secured from one End to the other, and that the Communication of it be well joined together, for which the Upper Quarter of Guelder, and the Garrisons in the Citadel of Liege, Huy, and Bonne, are absolutely necessary: Experience having thrice shewn, that France having a Design to attack the United-Provinces, has made Use of the Places above mentioned, in order to come at them, and to penetrate into the said Provinces. That further, in respect to the Equivalent for which the Upper Quarter of Guelder is to be yielded to the United-Provinces, according to the fifty-second Article of the Treaty of Munster above mentioned, his Majesty King Charles III. will be much more gratified and
 advan-

advantaged in other Places, than that Equivalent can avail. So, that to the End, the Lords the States-General may have the Upper Quarter of Guelder, with entire Property and Sovereignty; and that the said Upper Quarter of Guelder may be yielded in this Manner to the said Lords the States-General, in the Convention, or the Treaty that they are to make with his Majesty King Charles III. according to the thirteenth Article of the Treaty concluded this Day; as also that their Garrisons in the Citadel of Liege, in that of Huy and in Bonne may remain there, until it be otherwise agreed upon with his Imperial Majesty and the Empire: Her Majesty the QUEEN of Great-Britain, engages herself, and promises by this separate Article, which shall have the same Force as if it were inserted in the principal Treaty, to make the same Efforts for all this, as she hath engaged herself to make, for their obtaining the Barrier in the Spanish Low-Countries. In Testimony whereof, the under-written Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of her British Majesty, and Deputies of the Lords the States-General, have signed the present separate Article, and have affixed their Seals thereunto.

At the Hague, the 29th of October 1709.

(L. S.) Townshend.

(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.

(L. S.) G. Hoeuft.

(L. S.) E. V. Itterfum.

(L. S.) J. V. Welderen.

(L. S.) A. Heinsius.

(L. S.) H. Sminia.

(L. S.) W. Wichers.

The

The second separate ARTICLE.

AS the Lords the States-General have represented, That in Flanders, the Limits between Spanish Flanders, and that of the States, are settled in such a Manner, as that the Land belonging to the States is extremely narrow there; so that in some Places the Territory of Spanish Flanders extends itself to the Fortifications, and under the Cannon of the Places, Towns, and Forts of the States, which occasions many Inconveniencies, as hath been seen by an Example a little before the Beginning of the present War, when a Fort was designed to have been built under the Cannon of the Sas Van Gand, under Pretence, that it was upon the Territory of Spain: And, as it is necessary for avoiding these and other Sorts of Inconveniencies, that the Land of the States, upon the Confines of Flanders should be enlarged, and that the Places, Towns, and Forts should, by that Means, be better covered: Her British Majesty, entering into the just Motives of the said Lords the States-General in this Respect, promises and engages herself by this separate Article, That in the Convention that the said Lords the States-General are to make with his Majesty, King Charles III. she will assist them, as that it may be agreed. That by the Cession to the said Lords the States-General, of the Property of an Extent of Land necessary to obviate such like and other Inconveniencies; their Limits in Flanders shall be enlarged more conveniently for their Security, and those of the Spanish Flanders removed farther from their Towns, Places, and Forts, to the End, that these may not be so exposed any more. In Testimony whereof, the under written Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of her British Majesty, and Deputies
of

of the Lords the States-General, have signed the present separate Article, and have affixed their Seals thereunto.

At the Hague, the 29th of October, 1709.

(L. S.) Townshend.

(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.

(L. S.) A. Heinsius.

(L. S.) G. Hoefst.

(L. S.) H. Sminia.

(L. S.) E. V. Ittersum.

The Articles of the COUNTER-PROJECT, which were struck out or altered by the Dutch, in the BARRIER-TREATY: with some REMARKS.

ARTICLE VI.

To this End, their High Mightinesses shall have Power to put and keep Garrisons in the following Places, viz. *Newport, Knock, Menin*, the Citadel of *Lisle, Tournay, Conde, Valenciennes, Namure* and its Citadel, *Liere, Halle* to fortify, the Fort of *Perle Damme*, and the Castle of *Gand*.

REMARKS.

IN the Barrier Treaty, the States added the following Places to those mentioned in this Article, viz. *Furnes, Ypres, Towns of Lisle, Maubeuge, Charleroy, Philippe, Fort of St. Donas* (which is to be in Property to the States) and the Fort of *Rodenbuysen* to be demolished. To say nothing of the other Places, *Dendermond* is the Key

Key of all *Brabant*; and the demolishing of the Fort of *Rodenbuisen*, situate between *Gand* and *Sas van Gand*, can only serve to defraud the King of *Spain* of the Duties upon Goods imported and exported there.

ARTICLE VII.

THE said States may put into the said Towns, Forts, and Places, and in case of open War with *France*, into all the other Towns, Places, and Forts, whatever Troops the Reason of War shall require.

REMARKS.

BUT in the Barrier-Treaty it is said, in case of an apparent Attack or War, without specifying against *France*: Neither is the Number of Troops limited to what the Reason of War shall require, but what the States shall think necessary.

ARTICLE IX.

BESIDES some smaller Differences, ends with a Salvo, not only for the Ecclesiastical and Civil Rights of the King of *Spain*, but likewise for his Revenues in the said Towns, which Revenues in the Barrier-Treaty, are all given to the States.

ARTICLE XI.

THE Revenues of the Chattellanies and Dependencies of the Towns and Places, which the States shall have for their Barrier against *France*, and which were not in the Possession of the Crown of *Spain*,

Spain, at the late King of *Spain's* Death, shall be settled to be a Fund for maintaining Garrisons, and providing for the Fortifications, and Magazines, and other necessary Charges of the said Towns of the Barrier.

REMARKS.

I DESIRE the Reader to compare this with the eleventh Article of the Barrier-Treaty, where he will see how prodigiously it is enlarged.

ARTICLE XIV.

ALL this is to be without Prejudice to such other Treaties and Conventions as the QUEEN of *Great-Britain*, and their High Mightinesses, may think fit to make for the future with the said King *Charles III.* relating to the said *Spanish* Netherlands, or to the said Barrier.

ARTICLE XV.

AND to the End that the said States may enjoy, at present, as much as it is possible, a Barrier in the *Spanish* Netherlands, they shall be permitted to put their Garrisons in the chief Towns already taken, or that may be taken, before a Peace be made.

REMARKS.

THESE two Articles are not in the Barrier-Treaty, but two others in their Stead; to which I refer the Reader. And indeed, it was highly necessary for the *Dutch* to strike out the former of these Articles, when so great a Part of the Treaty

Treaty is so highly and manifestly prejudicial to *Great-Britain*, as well as to the King of *Spain*; especially in the two Articles inserted in the Place of these, which I desire the Reader will examine.

ARTICLE XX.

AND whereas by the fifth and ninth Articles of the Alliance, between the Emperor, the late King of *Great-Britain*, and the States-General, concluded the 7th of *September* 1701, it is agreed and stipulated, that the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, with all the Dependencies of the Crown of *Spain* in *Italy*, shall be recovered from the Possession of *France*, as being of the last Consequence to the Trade of both Nations, as well as the *Spanish* Netherlands, for a Barrier for the States-General; therefore the said QUEEN of *Great-Britain* and the States-General agree and oblige themselves not to enter into any Negotiation or Treaty of Peace with *France*, before the Restitution of the said Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, with all the Dependencies of the Crown of *Spain* and *Italy*, as well as the *Spanish* Low-Countries, with the other Towns and Places in the Possession of *France*, above mentioned in this Treaty; and also after the Manner specified in this Treaty; as likewise all the rest of the entire Monarchy of *Spain*, be yielded by *France* as a Preliminary.

ARTICLE XXII.

AND whereas Experience hath shewn of what Importance it is to *Great-Britain* and the United-Provinces, that the Fortress and Port of *Dunkirk* should not be in the Possession of *France*, in the Condition they are at present; the Subjects of

both Nations having undergone such great Losses, and suffered so much in their Trade, by the Prizes taken from them by Privateers set out in that Port; insomuch, that *France*, by her unmeasurable Ambition, may be always tempted to make some Enterprizes upon the Territories of the QUEEN of *Great-Britain* and their High Mightinesses, and interrupt the publick Repose and Tranquillity; for the Preservation of which, and the Balance of *Europe* against the exorbitant Power of *France*, the Allies engaged themselves in this long and burthensome War; therefore the said QUEEN of *Great-Britain*, and their High Mightinesses agree and oblige themselves, not to enter into any Negotiation or Treaty of Peace with *France*, before it shall be yielded and stipulated by *France* as a Preliminary, that all the Fortifications of the said Town of *Dunkirk*, and the Forts that depend upon it be entirely demolished, and razed, and that the Port be entirely ruined, and rendered impracticable.

REMARKS.

THESE two Articles are likewise omitted in the Barrier-Treaty; whereof the first regards particularly the Interests of the House of *Austria*; and the other about demolishing *Dunkirk*, those of *Great-Britain*. It is something strange, that the late Ministry, whose Advotates raise such a Clamour about the Necessity of recovering *Spain* from the House of *Bourbon*, should suffer the *Dutch* to strike out this Article; which, I think, clearly shews the Reason why the States never troubled themselves with the Thoughts of reducing *Spain*, or even recovering *Milan*, *Naples*, and *Sicily* to the Emperor; but were wholly fixed upon the Conquest

quest of *Flanders*, because they had determined those Provinces as a Property for themselves.

As for the Article about demolishing of *Dunkirk*, I am not at all surprized to find it struck out; the Destruction of that Place, although it would be useful to the States, doth more nearly import *Britain*, and was therefore a Point, that such Ministers could more easily get over.

The Sentiments of Prince EUGENE of Savoy, and of the Count de SINZENDORF, relating to the Barrier of the States-General, to the upper Quarter of Guelder, and to the Towns of the Electorate of Cologne, and of the Bishoprick of Liege.

ALTHOUGH the Orders and Instructions of the Courts of *Vienna* and *Barcelona*, upon the Matters above mentioned, do not go so far as to give Directions for what follows; notwithstanding, the Prince and Count above mentioned, considering the present State of Affairs, are of the following Opinion:

FIRST, That the Counter-Project of *England*, relating to the Places where the States-General may put and keep Garrisons, ought to be followed, except *Lier*, *Halle* to fortify, and the Castle of *Gand*. Provided likewise, that the Sentiments of *England* be particularly conformed to, relating to *Dendermond* and *Ostend*, as Places in no wise belonging to the Barrier; and which, as well as the Castle of *Gand*, can only serve to make the States-General Masters of the Low-Countries, and hinder Trade with *England*. And as to *Lier* and *Halle*,

those who are acquainted with the Country, know, that these Towns cannot give any Security to the States-General, but can only make People believe that these Places being fortified, would rather serve to block up *Brussels*, and the other great Cities of *Brabant*.

SECONDLY, As to what is said in the seventh Article of the Counter-Project of *England*, relating to the Augmentation of Garrisons, in the Towns of the Barrier, in case of an open War; this is agreeable to the Opinions of the said Prince and Count; who think likewise, that there ought to be added to the eighth Article, That no Goods or Merchandize should be sent into the Towns where the States-General shall have Garrisons, nor be comprehended under the Names of such Things, as the said Garrisons and Fortifications shall have need of. And that to this End, the said Things shall be inspected in those Places where they are to pass; as likewise, the Quantity shall be settled that the Garrisons may want.

THIRDLY, As to the ninth Article, relating to the Governors and Commanders of those Towns, Forts, and Places where the States-General shall have their Garrisons; the said Prince and Count are of Opinion, that the said Governors and Commanders, ought to take an Oath, as well to the King of *Spain* as to the States-General: But they may take a particular Oath to the latter, That they will not admit foreign Troops without their Consent; and that they will depend exclusively upon the said States, in whatever regards the Military Power. But at the same Time, they ought exclusively to promise the King of *Spain*, That they will not intermeddle in the Affairs of Law, civil Power, Revenues, or any other Matters,
Eccle-

Ecclesiastical or Civil, unless at the Desire of the King's Officers, to assist them in the Execution: In which Case, the said Commanders should be obliged not to refuse them.

FOURTHLY, As to the tenth Article, there is nothing to be added, unless that the States-General may repair and encrease the Fortifications of the Towns, Places, and Forts where they shall have their Garrisons; but this at their own Expence. Otherwise, under that Pretext, they might seize all the Revenues of the Country.

FIFTHLY, As to the eleventh Article, they think the States ought not to have the Revenues of the Chattellanies and Dependencies of these Towns and Places which are to be their Barrier against *France*; this being a Sort of Sovereignty, and very prejudicial to the Ecclesiastical and Civil Oeconomy of the Country. But the said Prince and Count are of Opinion, that the States-General ought to have, for the Maintenance of their Garrisons, and Fortifications, a Sum of Money of a Million and a Half, or two Millions of Florins, which they ought to receive from the King's Officers, who shall be ordered to pay that Sum before any other Payment.

SIXTHLY, And the Convention which shall be made on this Affair, between his Catholick Majesty and the States-General, shall be for a limited Time.

THESE are the utmost Conditions to which the said Prince and Count think it possible for his Catholick Majesty to be brought; and they declare at the same Time, that their Imperial and Catholick Majesties will sooner abandon the Low-Countries, than take them upon other Conditions,

which would be equally expensive, shameful, and unacceptable to them.

ON the other Side, the said Prince and Count are persuaded, that the Advantages at this Time yielded to the States-General, may hereafter be very prejudicial to themselves, forasmuch as they may put the People of the *Spanish* Netherlands to some dangerous Extremity, considering the Antipathy between the two Nations; and, that extending of Frontiers is entirely contrary to the Maxims of their Government.

As to the upper Quarter of *Guelder*, the said Prince and Count are of Opinion, that the States-General may be allowed the Power of putting in Garrisons into *Venlo*, *Ruremond*, and *Steffenswaert*, with Orders to furnish the said States with the Revenues of the Country, which amount to one hundred thousand Florins.

As to *Bonn*, belonging to the Electorate of *Cologne*; *Liege*, and *Huy* to the Bishoprick of *Liege*; it is to be understood, that these being Imperial Towns, it doth not depend upon the Emperor to consent, that foreign Garrisons should be placed in them upon any Pretence whatsoever. But whereas, the States-General demand them only for their Security, it is proposed, to place in those Towns a Garrison of Imperial Troops; of whom the States may be in no Suspicion, as they might be of a Garrison of an Elector, who might possibly have Views opposite to their Interests. But this is proposed only in case that it shall not be thought more proper to raze one or other of the said Towns.

*The Representation of the English Merchants
at Bruges, relating to the Barrier-Treaty.*

DAVID WHITE, and other Merchants, her Majesty's Subjects residing at Bruges, and other Towns in Flanders, crave Leave humbly to represent :

THAT whereas the Cities of *Lisle, Tournay, Menin, Douay*, and other new Conquests in *Flanders* and *Artois*, taken from the *French* this War, by the united Forces of her Majesty, and her Allies, are now become entirely under the Government of the States-General; and that we her Majesty's Subjects may be made liable to such Duties and Impositions on Trade, as the said States-General shall think fit to impose on us: We humbly hope and conceive, that it is her Majesty's Intention and Design, that the Trade of her Dominions and Subjects, which is carried on with these new Conquests, may be on an equal Foot with that of the Subjects and Dominions of the States-General, and not be liable to any new Duty, when transported from the *Spanish* Netherlands, to the said new Conquests; as, to our great Surprise, is exacted from us in the following Goods, viz. Butter, Tallow, Salmon, Hides, Beef, and all other Product of her Majesty's Dominions, which we import at *Ostend*, and there pay the Duty of Entry to the King of *Spain*, and consequently ought not to be liable to any new Duty, when they carry the same Goods, and all others from their Dominions, by a free Pass or Transire, to the said new Conquests: And we are under Apprehension, that if the said new Conquests

be settled, or given entirely into the Possession of the States-General for their Barrier, (as we are made believe by a Treaty lately made by her Majesty's Ambassador, the Lord Viscount *Townshend*, at the *Hague*) that the said States-General may also soon declare all Goods and Merchandizes which are contraband in their Provinces, to be also contraband or prohibited in these new Conquests, or new Barrier, by which her Majesty's Subjects will be deprived of the Sale and Consumption of the following Products of her Majesty's Dominions, which are, and have long been, declared contraband in the United-Provinces, such as *English* and *Scots* Salt, Malt Spirits, or Corn Brandy, and all other Sorts of distilled *English* Spirits, Whale and Rape Oil, &c.

It is therefore humbly conceived, that her Majesty, out of her great Care and gracious Concern for the Benefit of her Subjects and Dominions, may be pleased to direct, by a Treaty of Commerce, or some other Way, that their Trade may be put on an equal Foot in all the *Spanish* Netherlands, and the new Conquests of Barrier, with the Subjects of *Holland*, by paying no other Duty than that of Importation to the King of *Spain*; and by a Provision, that no Product of her Majesty's Dominions shall ever be declared contraband in these new Conquests, except such Goods as were esteemed contraband before the Death of *Charles II.* King of *Spain*. And it is also humbly prayed, that the Product and Manufacture of the new Conquests may also be exported without paying any new Duty, besides that of Exportation at *Ostend*, which was always paid to the King of *Spain*; it being impossible for any Nation in *Europe* to assort an intire Cargoe for the *Spanish West-Indies*,

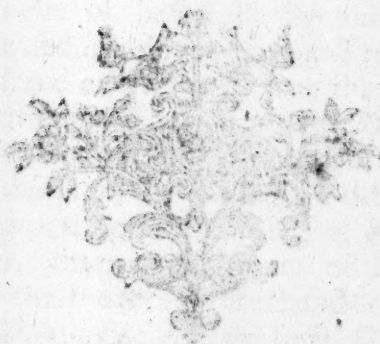
Indies, without a considerable Quantity of several of the Manufactures of *Lisle*, such as Caradoros, Cajant, Picofes, Boratten, and many other Goods, &c.

THE chief Things to be demanded of *France* are, to be exempted from Tonnage, to have a Liberty of importing Herrings, and all other Fish to *France*, on the same Terms as the *Dutch* do, and as was agreed by them at the Treaty of Commerce immediately after the Treaty of Peace at *Ryswick*. The enlarging her Majesty's Plantations in *America*, &c. is naturally recommended.



without a considerable Quantity of several
of the Manufactures of this such as Castles,
Skins, Poles, Pottery, and many other Goods,

The said Things to be demanded of France
and to be exempted from Tollage, to have a full
power of importing, selling, and all other things
to be done, on the same Terms as the Dutch do,
and as was agreed by them at the Treaty of Com-
merce immediately after the Treaty of Peace at
Utrecht. The enjoining her Majesty's ratifications
is hereby, &c. is mutually recommended.



A
NEW SIMILE
FOR THE
LADIES,
WITH
Useful ANNOTATIONS,
AND AN
ANSWER to it.


*To make a Writer miss his End,
You've nothing else to do but mend.*



Written in the Year 1733.

NEW SIMILE
FOR THE
LADIES

THE following Poem is writ by
the Reverend Dr. SH—N,
which we have thought proper to insert
here, as our supposed Author published
an Answer to it, which immediately
follows this.



Which in the Year 1733

A
 NEW SIMILE
 FOR THE
 LADIES, &c.

I OFTEN try'd in vain to find
 A *Simile* for Woman-kind,
 A *Simile* I mean to fit 'em,
 In every Circumstance to hit 'em,
 Thro' ev'ry Beast and Bird I went,
 I ranfack'd ev'ry Element,
 And after peeping thro' all Nature,
 To find so whimsical a Creature,
 A *Cloud* presented to my View,
 And straight this Parallel I drew:
 Clouds turn with ev'ry Wind about,
 They keep us in Suspence and Doubt,

Yet

Yet oft perverse, like Woman-kind,
Are seen to scud against the Wind;
And are not Women just the same?
For, who can tell at what they aim?

Clouds keep the stoutest Mortals under,
When bellowing they discharge their Thunder;
So when the Alarm-Bell is rung,
Of * *Xanti's* everlasting Tongue,

* *XANTI*, a Nick-name for *XANTIPPE*, that Scold of glorious Memory, who never let poor *SOCRATES* have one Moment's Peace of Mind, yet with unexampled Patience he bore her pestilential Tongue. I shall beg the Ladies Pardon, if I insert a few Passages concerning her, and at the same Time I assure them, it is not to lessen those of the present Age, who are possess'd of the like laudable Talents; for, I will confess, that I know three in the City of *Dublin*, no Way inferior to *XANTIPPE*, but that they have not as great Men to work upon.

When a Friend asked *SOCRATES*, how he could bear the Scolding of his Wife *XANTIPPE*, he retorted, and asked him, how he could bear the Gaggling of his Geese. Ay, but my Geese lay Eggs for me, reply'd his Friend. So doth my Wife bear Children, said *SOCRATES*. *Diog. Laert.*

Being asked at another Time by a Friend, how he could bear her Tongue, he said, she was of this use to him, that she taught him to bear the Impertinencies of others with more Ease, when he went abroad. *Plur. de Capiend. ex Host. utilis.*

SOCRATES invited his Friend *EUTHYDEMUS* to Supper. *XANTIPPE*, in great Rage went in to them, and overset the Table. *EUTHYDEMUS* rising in a Passion to go off, My dear Friend, stay, said *SOCRATES*, did not a Hen do the same Thing at your House the other Day, and did I shew any Resentment? *Plur. de Ira cohibenda.*

I could give many more Instances of her Termagancy, and his Philosophy, if such a Proceeding might not look as if I

The

The Husband dreads its Loudness more,
Than Light'ning's Flash, or Thunder's Roar.

Clouds weep as they do, without Pain,
And what are Tears but Womens Rain?

THE *Clouds* about the Welkin roam,
And Ladies never stay at home.

THE *Clouds* build Castles in the Air,
A Thing peculiar to the Fair;
For all the Schemes of their Forecasting,
Are not more solid, nor more lasting.

A *Cloud* is light by Turns, and dark,
Such is a Lady with her Spark;
Now, with a sudden pouting Gloom,
She seems to darken all the Room;
Again she's pleas'd, his Fears beguil'd,
And all is clear, when she has smil'd,
In this they're wondrously alike,
(I hope the *Simile* will strike)
Tho' in the darkest Dumps you view 'em,
Stay but a Moment, you'll see through 'em.

THE *Clouds* are apt to make Reflection,
And frequently produce Infection;

were glad of an Opportunity to expose the Fair Sex; but to shew
I have no such Design, I declare, that I had much worse Sto-
ries to tell of her Behaviour to her Husband, which I rather pas-
sed over, on Account of the great Esteem which I bear the La-
dies, especially those in the honourable Station of Matrimony.

So

So *Cælia*, with small Provocation,
Blasts ev'ry Neighbour's Reputation.

THE *Clouds* delight in gaudy Show,
For they, like Ladies, have their Beau;
The gravest Matron will confess,
That she herself is fond of Dress.

OBSERVE the *Clouds* in Pomp array'd,
What various Colours are display'd,
The Pink, the Rose, the Vi'let's Dye,
In that great Drawing-Room the Sky,
How do these differ from our Graces,
In Garden-Silks, Brocades, and Laces?
Are they not such another Sight,
When met upon a Birth-Day Night.

THE *Clouds* delight to change their Fashion:
Dear Ladies, be not in a Passion,
Nor let this Whim to you seem strange,
Who ev'ry Hour delight in Change.

IN them and you alike are seen
The fullen Symptoms of the Spleen,
The Moment that your Vapours rise,
We see them dropping from your Eyes.

IN Ev'ning fair you may behold
The *Clouds* are fring'd with borrow'd Gold,

And

And this is many a Lady's Case,
Who flants about in * borrow'd Lace.

GRAVE Matrons are like *Clouds* of Snow,
Their Words fall thick, and soft, and flow,
While brisk Coquets, like rattling Hail,
Our Ears on ev'ry Side assail,

Clouds when they intercept our Sight,
Deprive us of Celestial Light:
So when my *Chloe* I pursue,
No Heaven besides, I have in View.

THUS, on Comparison you see,
In ev'ry Instance they agree,
So like, so very much the same,
That one may go by t'other's Name.
Let me proclaim it then aloud,
That ev'ry Woman is a *Cloud*.

* Not *Flanders* Lace, but Gold and Silver-Lace. By borrowed, is meant such as run in honest Tradesmen's Debts, for what they were not able to pay, as many of them did for *French* Silver-Lace, against the last Birth-Day. *Vid. the Shop-keepers Books.*



A N
A N S W E R
To a SCANDALOUS
P O E M,

W H E R E I N

The AUTHOR most audaciously
presumes to cast an Indignity upon their
HIGHNESSES the CLOUDS, by com-
paring them to a WOMAN.

Written in the YEAR 1732,
By DERMOT O-NEPHELY,
*Chief * Cap of HOWTH.*



* The highest Point of HOWTH is called the Cap of HOWTH.

ADVERTISEMENT

From the CLOUDS.

THE following Answer to that
scurrilous Libel against us, should
have been published long ago in our own
Justification: But it was advised, that,
considering the high Importance of the
Subject, it should be deferred until the
Meeting of the Great Assembly of the
Nation.

A N
 A N S W E R
 To a SCANDALOUS
 P O E M, &c.

P Resumptuous Bard! How cou'd you dare
 A Woman with a *Cloud* compare?
 Strange Pride and Insolence you show,
 Inferior Mortals *there* below.
 And, is our Thunder in your Ears
 So frequent or so loud as theirs?
 Alas! our Thunder soon goes out;
 And only makes you more devout.
 Then, is not Female Clatter worse,
 That drives you, not to *pray*, but *curse*? 10

We hardly Thunder thrice a Year;
 The Bolt discharg'd, the Sky grows clear:
 But, ev'ry sublunary Dowdy,
 The more she scolds, the more she's Cloudy.

SOME Critick may object, perhaps, 15
 That *Clouds* are blam'd for giving *Claps*;
 But what, alas! are *Claps* Ætherial,
 Compar'd, for Mischief, to Venereal?
 Can *Clouds* give Bubo's, Ulcers, Blotches,
 Or from your Noses dig out Notches? 20
 We leave the Body sweet and sound;
 We kill, 'tis true, but never wound.

You know a *Cloudy* Sky bespeaks
 Fair Weather, when the Morning breaks;
 But, Women in a *Cloudy* Plight, 25
 Foretel a Storm to last 'till Night.

A *Cloud* in proper Seasons pours
 His Blessings down in fruitful Show'rs;
 But, Woman was by Fate design'd
 To pour down Curfes on Mankind. 30

WHEN * *Syrius* o'er the Welkin rages
 Our kindly Help his Fire asswages;
 But Woman is a curst Inflamer,
 No Parish Ducking-Stool can tame her:
 To kindle Strife, Dame Nature taught her: 35
 Like Fire-Works, she can burn in Water.

FOR Fickleness how durst you blame us?
 Who for our Constancy are famous.

* The Dog-Star.

You'll

You'll see a *Cloud* in gentle Weather
Keep the same Face an Hour together: 40
While Woman, if it could be reckon'd,
Change ev'ry Feature ev'ry Second.

OBSERVE our Figure in a Morning;
Of Foul or Fair we give you Warning;
But, can you guess from Woman's Air, 45
One Minute, whether Foul or Fair?

Go read in ancient Books enroll'd,
What Honours we possess'd of old!

To disappoint *Ixion's* Rape,
JOVE dress'd a *Cloud* in *Juno's* Shape: 50
Which when he had enjoy'd, he swore,
No Goddess could have pleas'd him more,
No Diff'rence could he find between
His *Cloud*, and *JOVE's* Imperial Queen:
His *Cloud* produc'd a Race of *Centaurs*, 55
Fam'd for a thousand bold Adventures;
From us descended *ab origine*;
By learned Authors, call'd *Nubigenæ*,
But say, what Earthly Nymph do you know,
So beautiful to pass for *Juno*. 60

BEFORE *Aeneas* durst aspire
To court her Majesty of *Tyre*,
His Mother begg'd of us to dress him,
That *Dido* might the more caress him:

A Coat we gave him, dy'd in Grain; 65
 A *Flaxen* Wig, and *Clouded* Cane.
 (The Wig was powder'd round with Sleet,
 Which fell in *Clouds* beneath his Feet)
 With which he made a tearing Show:
 And *Dido* quickly *smoak'd* the *Beau*. 70

AMONG your Females make Inquiries;
 What Nymph on Earth so fair as *Iris*?
 With heav'nly Beauty so endow'd?
 And yet her Father is a *Cloud*.
 We dress'd her in a Gold Brocade, 75
 Befitting *Juno's* fav'rite Maid.

'Tis known, that *Socrates* the wise,
 Ador'd us *Clouds* as Deities;
 To us he made his daily Prayers,
 As *Aristophanes* declares: 80
 From *Jupiter* took all Dominion,
 And dy'd defending his Opinion.
 By his Authority, 'tis plain
 You worship other Gods in vain:
 And from your own Experience know, 85
 We govern all Things there below.
 You follow where we please to guide;
 O'er all your Passions we preside;
 Can raise them up, or sink them down,
 As we think fit to smile or frown: 90
 And, just as we dispose your Brain,
 Are witty, dull, rejoice, complain.

COMPARE Us then to Female Race!
 We, to whom all the Gods give Place:
 Who better challenge your Allegiance, 95
 Because we dwell in higher Regions:
 You find, the Gods in *Homer* dwell,
 In Seas, and Streams, or low as Hell:
 Ev'n *Jove*, and *Mercury* his Pimp,
 No higher climb than Mount *Olymp*, 100
 (Who makes you think, the *Clouds* he pierces:
 He pierce the *Clouds*! He kifs their Ar--es.)
 While we, o'er *Teneriffa* plac'd,
 Are loftier by a Mile at least:
 And when *Apollo* struts on *Pindus*, 105
 We see him from our Kitchen Windows:
 Or, to *Parnassus* looking down,
 Can p--fs upon his Lawrel Crown.

FATE never form'd the Gods to fly;
 In Vehicles they mount the Sky: 110
 When *JOVE* would some fair Nymph inveigle,
 He comes full Gallop on his Eagle.
 Though *Venus* be as light as Air,
 She must have Doves to draw her Chair.
Apollo stirs not out of Door, 115
 Without his lacker'd Coach and Four,
 And, jealous *Juno*, ever snarling,
 Is drawn by Peacocks in her Berlin:
 But we can fly where'er we please,
 O'er Cities, Rivers, Hills, and Seas: 120
 From

From East to West, the World we roam;
 And, in all Climates are at home;
 With Care provide you as we go,
 With Sun-shine, Rain, and Hail, or Snow,
 You, when it rains, like Fools believe, 125
 LOVE p--es on you through a Sieve:
 An idle Tale, 'tis no such Matter;
 We only dip a Sponge in Water;
 Then, squeeze it close between our Thumbs,
 And shake it well, and down it comes. 130
 As you shall to your Sorrow know;
 We'll watch your Steps where'er you go:
 And, since we find you walk a-foot,
 We'll soundly souce your Frize Surtout.

'Tis but by our peculiar Grace, 135
 That *Phæbus* ever shews his Face:
 For, when we please, we open wide
 Our Curtains blue, from Side to Side:
 And then, how faucily he shews
 His brazen Face, and fiery Nose: 140
 And gives himself a haughty Air,
 As if He made the Weather fair.

'Tis sung, wherever *Calia* treads,
 The Vi'lets ope their Purple Heads;
 The Roses blow, the Cowslip springs; 145
 'Tis sung, but we know better Things.
 'Tis true; a Woman on her Mettle,
 Will often p--fs upon a Nettle;

But;

But, though we own she makes it wetter,
The Nettle never thrives the better: 150
While we, by soft prolifick Show'rs,
Can ev'ry Spring produce you Flow'rs.

YOUR Poets, *Cbloë's* Beauty height'ning,
Compare her radiant Eyes to Light'ning;
And yet, I hope, 'twill be allow'd, 155
That Light'ning comes but from a *Cloud*.

BUT, Gods like us, have too much Sense
At Poets Flights to take Offence.
Nor can Hyperboles demean us;
Each Drab has been compar'd to *Venus*. 160

WE own your Verses are melodious;
But such Comparisons are odious.



A
L E T T E R
TO THE
Reverend Dr. *SH—N*.

Written in the Year 1718.

S I R,

WHATE'ER your Predecessors taught us,
I have a great Esteem for *Plautus*;
And think your Boys may gather there-
hence,

More Wit and Humour than from *Terence*.

But as to comic *Aristophanes*,

The Rogue's too Bawdy and too Prophane is.

I went in vain to look for *Eupolis*,

Down in the * *Strand* just where the new Pole is,

For I can tell you one Thing, that I can,

You will not find it in the *Vatican*.

* The *Strand* in *London*. The Fact may be false, but the Rhyme cost me some Trouble.

He

He and *Cratinus* used, as *Horace* says,
 To take his greatest Grandees for Asses.
 Poets, in those Days us'd to venture high,
 But these are lost full many a Century.

THUS you may see, dear Friend, *ex pede* hence,
 My Judgment of the old Comedians.

PROCEED to Tragicks, first *Euripides*
 (An Author, where I sometimes dip a Days)
 Is rightly censur'd by the Stagirite,
 Who says, his Numbers do not fadge a-right.
 A Friend of mine, that Author despises
 So much, he swears the very best Piece is
 For ought he knows, as bad as *Theſpis's*.
 And that a Woman in those Tragedies
 Commonly speaking, but a sad Jade is.
 At least, I'm well assur'd, that no Folk lays
 The Weight on him, they do on *Sophocles*.
 But above all I prefer *Æschylus*,
 Whose moving Touches, when they please, kill us.

AND now I find my Muse but ill able
 To hold out longer in Trysyllable.
 I chose these Rhymes out for their Difficulty,
 Will you return as hard ones, if I call t'ye?

T H E
 Reverend Dr. *SH—N*
 T O
 J. S. D. D. D. S. P. D.

DEAR Dean, since in *Cruzes* and *Puns* you
 and I deal,
 Pray why is a Woman a Sieve and a
 Riddle?

'Tis a Thought that came into my Noddle this
 Morning,

In Bed as I lay, Sir, a tossing and turning.
 You'll find, if you read but a few of your Histories,
 All Women, as *Eve*, all Women are Mysteries.
 To find out this Riddle, I know you'll be eager,
 And make every one of the Sex a *Bell-phagor*.

But that will not do, for I mean to come-mend 'em,
 I swear, without Jest, I an Honour intend 'em.

In a Sieve, Sir, their ancient Extraction I quite tell,
 In a Riddle I give you their Power and their Title.
 This I told you before, do you know what I mean,
 Sir?

* *Not I, by my Troth, Sir.*— Then read it again, Sir.

* The Dean's Answer.

The

The Reason I send you these Lines of Rhymes
 double,
 Is purely through Pity, to save you the Trouble
 Of thinking two Hours for a Rhyme, as you did
 last;
 When your *Pegasus* canter'd in triple, and rid fast.

As for my little Nag which I keep at *Parnassus*
 With *Phæbus's* Leave, to run with his Asses.
 He goes slow and sure, and he never is jaded,
 While your fiery Steed is whipp'd, spurr'd, basti-
 naded,

D—n S——'s Answer

T O T H E

Reverend Dr. *SH—N*.

S I R,

IN reading your Letter alone in my Hackney,
 Your damnable Riddle, my poor Brains did
 rack nigh.

And when with much Labour the Matter I crackt,
 I found you mistaken in Matter of Fact.

A Wo-

A WOMAN's no Sieve (for with that you begin)
 Because she lets out more than e'er she takes in.
 And that she's a Riddle, can never be right,
 For a Riddle is dark, but a Woman is *light*.
 But grant her a Sieve, I can say something archer,
 Pray what is a Man? he's a fine Linen *Searcher*,

Now tell me a Thing that wants Interpretation,
 What Name for a * Maid, was the first Man's
 Damnation?

If your Worship will please to explain me this *Rebus*,
 I swear from henceforward you shall be my *Phæbus*.

* *Vir Gin.*

From my Hackney-Coach,
 Sept. 11, 1712. *past 12*
at Noon.



THE

A
C H A R A C T E R,
P A N E G Y R I C K,
A N D
D E S C R I P T I O N
O F T H E
L E G I O N C L U B.

VOL. II.

R

A

CHARTER

MANEYRIK

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

LEGION CLUB

A

M

11.307

A
 CHARACTER,
 PANEGRICK,
 AND
 DESCRIPTION
 OF THE
 LEGION CLUB.

AS I strole the City, oft I
 See a Building large and lofty,
 Not a Bow-Shot from the College,
 Half the Globe in Sense and Knowledge;
 By the prudent Architect,
 Plac'd against the Church direct,
 Making good my Grandame's Jest,
Near the Church — you know the rest.

TELL us what the Pile contains?
 Many a Head that holds no Brains.

R 2

These

These Demoniacs let me dub
 With the Name of *Legion Club*;
 Such Assemblies, you might swear,
 Meet, when Butchers bait a Bear;
 Such a Noise, and such haranguing,
 When a brother Thief is hanging:
 Such a Rout, and such a Rabble
 Run to hear Jack-Pudding gabble;
 Such a Crowd their Ordure throws
 On a far less Villain's Nose. —

COULD I from the Building Top
 Hear the rattling Thunder drop,
 While the De'l upon the Roof
 (If the De'l be Thunder proof)
 Should with Poker fiery red
 Crack the Stones, and melt the Lead;
 Drive them down on ev'ry Scull;
 While the Den of Thieves is full;
 Quite destroy that Harpies Nest,
 How might then our Isle be blest!
 For Divines allow that God
 Sometimes makes the De'l his Rod,
 And the Gospel will inform us
 He can punish Sins enormous,

YET should Sw—t endow the Schools,
 For his *Lunaticks* and *Fools*,
 With a Rood or two of Land,
 I allow the Pile may stand,

You,

You, perhaps, will ask me, Why so?
But it is with this Proviso,
Since the House is like to last,
Let a Royal Grant be pass'd,
That the Club have Right to dwell,
Each within his proper Cell,
With a Passage left to creep in,
And a Hole above for peeping.

LET them, when they once get in,
Sell the Nation for a Pin;
While they sit a picking Straws,
Let them rave of making Laws;
While they never hold their Tongue,
Let them dabble in their Dung;
Let them form a Grand Committee,
How to plague and starve the City;
Let them stare, and storm, and frown,
When they see a Clergy Gown;
Let them, e'er they crack a Louse,
Call for th' Orders of the House;
Let them with their Goslin Quills,
Scribble senseless Heads of Bills;
We may, while they strain their Throats,
Wipe our A--ses with their Votes.

LET * Sir T—m, that rampant Ass,
Stuff his Guts with Flax and Grass;

* Sir Thomas P——st, a P——C——r of Ireland, and
Son to the Informer.

But before the Priest he fleeces
 Tear the Bible all to Pieces:
 At the Parsons, *Tom*, halloo, Boy,
 Worthy Offspring of a Shoe-Boy,
 Footman, Traytor, vile Seducer,
 Perjur'd Rebel, brib'd Accuser;
 Lay thy paltry Priv'lege aside,
 Sprung from Papists, and a Regicide;
 Fall a working like a Mole,
 Raise the Dirt about your Hole.

COME, assist me, Muse obedient,
 Let us try some new Expedient;
 Shift the Scene for half an Hour,
 Time and Place are in thy Power:
 Thither, gentle Muse, conduct me,
 I shall ask, and you instruct me.

See, the Muse unbars the Gate;
 Hark, the Monkeys, how they prate!

* ALL ye Gods who rule the Soul,
Stryx, thro' Hell whose Waters roll,
 Let me be allow'd to tell
 What I heard in yonder Hell.

† NEAR the Door an Entrance gapes,
 Crouded round with antick Shapes,

* *Dii quibus imperium est animarum, &c.*

Sit mihi fas audita loqui.

† *Vestibulum ante ipsum, &c.*

VIRG. Lib. VI.

VIRG.

Poverty,

Poverty, and Grief, and Care,
Causeless Joy, and true Despair,
Discord perriwig'd with Snakes,
See the dreadful Stride she takes.

By this odious Crew beset,
I began to rage and fret,
* And resolv'd to break their Pates,
E'er we enter at the Gates;
Had not *Clio* in the Nick,
Whisper'd me, *Lay down your Stick*.
What, said I, is this the *Mad-House*?
These, she answer'd, are but Shadows,
Phantoms bodiless and vain,
Empty Visions of the Brain.

† In the Porch *Briareus* stands,
Shews a Bribe in all his Hands;
Briareus the Secretary,
But we Mortals call him *C—y*.
When the Rogues their Country fleece,
They may hope for Pence a-piece.

CLIO, who had been so wise
To put on a Fool's Disguise,
To bespeak some Approbation,
And be thought a near Relation,
When she saw three hundred Brutes,
All involv'd in wild Disputes,

* *Et indocta comes, &c.*

† *Et centumgemanus Briareus, &c.*

Vine. Lib. VI.

Id. ibid.

Roaring 'till their Lungs were spent,
 PRIVILEGE OF PARLIAMENT;
 Now a new Misfortune feels,
 Dreading to be laid by th' Heels,
 Never durst a Muse before
 Enter that infernal Door;
Clio stifled with the Smell
 Into Spleen and Vapours fell,
 By the *Stygian* Steams that flew
 From the dire infectious Crew.
 Not the Stench of Lake *Avernus*
 Could have more offended her Nose;
 Had she flown but o'er the Top,
 She would feel her Pinions drop,
 And by Exhalations dire,
 Tho' a Goddess, must expire;
 In a Fright she crept away,
 Bravely I resolv'd to stay.

WHEN I saw the Keeper frown,
 Tipping him with Half a Crown,
 Now, said I, we are alone,
 Name your Heroes one by one.

WHO is that Hell-Featur'd Brawler,
 Is it *Satan*? No 'tis *W*———;
 In what Figure can a Bard dress
Jack the Grandson of Sir *H*——s.
 Honest Keeper, drive him further,
 In his Looks are Hell and Murther;

See the scowling Visage drop,
Just as when he murther'd T——p;

KEEPER, shew me where to fix
On the Puppy Pair of *Dicks*;
By their Lanthorn Jaws and Leathern,
You might swear they both are Brethren;
Dick Fitz-Baker, *Dick* the Player,
Old Acquaintance, are you there?
Dear Companions, hug and kiss,
Toast *old Glorious* in your Piss;
Tie 'em, Keeper, in a Tether,
Let 'em starve and stink together;
Both are apt to be unruly,
Lash 'em daily, lash 'em dully;
Tho' 'tis hopeless to reclaim them,
Scorpion Rods perhaps may tame them.

KEEPER, you old dotard Smoke,
Sweetly snoring in his Cloak:
Who is he? 'tis humdrum W——ne
Half encompass'd by his Kin.
There observe the Tribe of B——h——m,
For he never fails to bring 'em;
While he sleeps the whole Debate,
They submissive round him wait;
Yet would gladly see the Hunks
In his Grave, and search his Trunks;
See, they gently twitch his Coat,
Just to yawn and give his Vote,

Always

Always firm in his Vocation,
For the C——, against the N——.

THOSE are ~~A——s~~ Jack and Bob,
First in every wicked Job,
Son and Brother to a queer
Brainfick Brute, they call a Peer.
We must give them better Quarter,
For their Ancestor's rod Mortar,
And at H——th, to boast his Fame,
On a Chimney cut his Name.——

THERE sit C——nts, D——ks, and H——n,
How they swagger from their Garrison,
Such a Triplet could you tell
Where to find on this Side Hell?
H——n, and D——ks, and C——nts,
Keeper, see they have their Payments.
Every Mischief's in their Hearts,
If they fail, 'tis want of Parts.

BLESS us, M——n! art thou there, Man?
Bless mine Eyes! art thou the Chairman!
Chairman to yon damn'd Committee!
Yet I look on thee with Pity.
Dreadful Sight! what, learned M——n!
Metamorphos'd to a Gorgon!
For thy horrid Looks, I own,
Half convert me to a Stone:
Hast thou been so long at School
Now to turn a factious Tool?

Alma

Alma Mater was thy Mother,
 Every young Divine thy Brother ;
 Thou a disobedient Varlet,
 Treat thy Mother like a Harlot!
 Thou, ungrateful to thy Teachers,
 Who are all grown Reverend Preachers!
M——n, would it not surprize one?
 Turn thy Nourishment to Poyson!
 When you walk among your Books,
 They reproach you with their Looks,
 Bind them fast, or from their Shelves
 They will come and right themselves:
Homer, Plutarch, Virgil, Flaccus,
 All in Arms prepare to back us:
 Soon repent, or put to slaughter
 Every Greek and Roman Author.
 Will you, in your Faction's Phrase,
 Send the Clergy all to graze?
 And to make your Project pass,
 Leave them not a Blade of Grass?

How I want thee, hum'rous Hogarth!
 Thou, I hear, a pleasant Rogue art;
 Were but you and I acquainted,
 Every Monster should be painted:
 You should try your graving Tools
 On this odious Group of Fools,
 Draw the Beasts as I describe them,
 From their Features, while I gibe them ;

Draw.

Draw them like, for I assure ye,
 You will need no *Carcatura*;
 Draw them so that we may trace
 All the Soul in ev'ry Face.

KEEPER, I must now retire,
 You have done what I desire:
 But I feel my Spirits spent
 With the Noise, the Sight, the Scent.
*Pray be patient, you shall find
 Half the best are still behind:*
*You have hardly seen a Score,
 I can shew two hundred more.*
 Keeper, I have seen enough;
 Taking then a Pinch of Snuff,
 I concluded, looking round 'em,
May their God, the De'l confound 'em.



REASONS

Humbly offered to the

PARLIAMENT of *IRELAND*

For REPEALING the

SACRAMENTAL TEST,

In FAVOUR of

The CATHOLICKS, otherwise called ROMAN-
CATHOLICKS, and by their Ill-willers
PAPISTS.

DRAWN

Partly from Arguments as they are CATHOLICKS,

AND

Partly from Arguments common to them with
their Brethren the Dissenters.



Written in the Year 1733.

FEASONS

PARLIAMENT OF IRELAND

SECRARARY GENERAL

THE SECRETARY GENERAL of the
Parliament of Ireland, has the
honour to acknowledge the receipt
of your letter of the 10th inst.
and in reply to inform you that
the same has been forwarded to
the proper authorities for their
consideration.

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
J. J. J.

THE SECRETARY GENERAL of the
Parliament of Ireland, has the
honour to acknowledge the receipt
of your letter of the 10th inst.
and in reply to inform you that
the same has been forwarded to
the proper authorities for their
consideration.

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the proper authorities for their
consideration.

ADVERTISEMENT.

*I*N the Years 1732, and 1733, an Attempt was made for repealing the Test Act in Ireland, introductory of a like Attempt in England. The various Arguments for it were answered in every Shape; but no way more effectually than by examining what Pretence the Presbyterians had to share in all the Privileges of Government, either from their own Principles and Behaviour, or compared with those of other Sectaries. Under the former Head they were fully silenced by our Author in The Presbyterians Plea of Merit impartially examined. They are now put in the Ballance with Papists, whom though they have sometimes styled their Brethren in Adversity, yet when placed in Competition, they will hate as Brethren likewise. But let them here dispute the Preference, and then put in their Claim to be Part of the Establishment.

ADVERTISEMENT

In the Years 1735, and 1736, an Attempt was made for repealing the 25th Act in Ireland, intended of a Bill to amend in England. The various Arguments for it were conducted in every Stage; but no more were effectively than by examining what Evidence the Physicians had to shew in all the Parts of Government, either from their own Principles and Reasoning, or compared with that of other Societies. Under the former Head they were fully assisted by our own; and the Propositions of their own were generally examined. They are now put in the Balance with Papists, whose Rights they have sometimes asked their Partners in Abolition to share in. In Consequence, they will have to sustain themselves. But for themselves, they are the Professor, and that put in their Claim to be Part of the Establishment.

R E A S O N S

Humbly offered to the

Parliament of *IRELAND*

FOR REPEALING the

SACRAMENTAL TEST, &c.

IT is well known, that the first Conquerors of this Kingdom were *English Catholics*, Subjects to *English Catholick Kings*, from whom, by their Valour and Success, they obtained large Portions of Land given them as a Reward for their many Victories over the *Irish*: To which Merit our *Brethren* the Dissenters of any Denomination whatsoever, have not the least Pretensions,

It is confessed, that the Posterity of those first victorious *Catholicks* were often forced to rise in their own Defence, against new Colonies from *England*, who treated them like mere native *Irish*, with innumerable Oppressions; depriving them of their Lands, and driving them by Force of Arms into the most desolate Parts of the Kingdom. Till in the next Generation, the Children of these Tyrants were used in the same manner by new *English* Adventurers, which Practice continued for

many Centuries. But it is agreed on all Hands, that no Insurrections were ever made, except after great Oppressions by fresh Invaders. Whereas all the Rebellions of *Puritans, Presbyterians, Independents*, and other Sectaries, constantly began before any Provocations were given, except that they were not suffered to change the Government in Church and State, and seize both into their own Hands; which, however, at last they did, with the Murder of their King and of many Thousands of his best Subjects.

THE *Catholicks* were always Defenders of Monarchy, as constituted in these Kingdoms. Whereas our *Brethren the Dissenters* were always Republicans, both in Principle and Practice.

It is well known that all the *Catholicks* of these Kingdoms, both Priests and Laity, are true *Whigs* in the best and most proper Sense of the Word; bearing as well in their Hearts, as in their outward Profession, an entire Loyalty to the Royal House of *Hanover* in the Person and Posterity of *George II.* against the *Pretender* and all his Adherents. To which they think themselves bound in Gratitude as well as Conscience, by the Lenity wherewith they have been treated since the Death of *Queen Anne*, so different from what they suffered in the four last Years of that Princess, during the Administration of that wicked Minister, the Earl of *Oxford*.

THE *Catholicks* of this Kingdom humbly hope, that they have at least as fair a Title as any of their *Brother Dissenters*, to the Appellation of *Protestants*. They have always protested against the selling, dethroning, or murdering their Kings: Against the Usurpations and Avarice of the Court of *Rome*: Against *Deism, Atheism, Socinianism, Quakerism*,

kerism, Muggletonianism, Fanaticism, Brownism, as well as against all Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Hereticks. Whereas the Title of Protestants assumed by the whole Herd of Dissenters (except ourselves) dependeth entirely upon their Protesting against Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, with their Revenues; and the whole Hierarchy. Which are the very Expressions used in The Solemn League and Covenant, where the Word Popery is only mentioned ad invidiam; because the Catholicks agree with the Episcopal Church in those Fundamentals.

ALTHOUGH the Catholicks cannot deny, that in the great Rebellion against King *Charles I.* more Soldiers of their Religion were in the Parliament Army than in his Majesty's Troops; and that many Jesuits and Fryars went about in the Disguise of *Presbyterian* and *Independent* Ministers to preach up Rebellion; as the best Historians of those Times inform us; yet the Bulk of Catholicks in both Kingdoms preserved their Loyalty entire.

THE Catholicks have some Reason to think it a little hard, when their Enemies will not please to distinguish between the rebellious Riot committed by that brutal Ruffian, Sir *Phelim O Neal* with his tumultuous Crew of Rabble; and the Forces raised afterwards by the *Catholick* Lords and Gentlemen of the *English* Pale, in Defence of the King after the *English* Rebellion began. It is well known, that His Majesty's Affairs were in great Distraction some time before, by an Invasion of the *Covenanting, Scottish, Kirk Rebels*, and by the base Terms the King was forced to accept, that they might be kept in Quiet, at a Juncture when he was every Hour threatned at home by that Fanatick Party, which soon after set all in a Flame.

And, if the *Catholick Army* in *Ireland* fought for their King against the Forces sent over by the Parliament, then in actual Rebellion against him, what Person of loyal Principles can be so partial to deny, that they did their Duty, by joining with the Marquis of *Ormond*, and other Commanders, who bore their Commissions from the King? For which, great Numbers of them lost their Lives, and forfeited their Estates; a great Part of the latter being now possessed by many Descendants from those very Men who had drawn their Swords in the Service of that rebellious Parliament which cut off his Head, and destroyed Monarchy. And what is more amazing, although the same Persons, when the *Irish* were intirely subdued, continued in Power under the *Rump*; were chief Confidants, and faithful Subjects to *Cromwell*, yet being wise enough to foresee a *Restoration*, they seized the Forts and Castles here, out of the Hands of their old *Brethren in Rebellion*, for the Service of the King; just saving the Tide, and putting in a Stock of Merit, sufficient not only to preserve the Lands which the *Catholicks* lost by their Loyalty; but likewise to preserve their Civil and Military Employments, or be higher advanced.

Those Insurrections wherewith the *Catholicks* are charged from the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century to the great *English* Rebellion, were occasioned by many Oppressions they lay under. They had no Intention to introduce a new Religion, but to enjoy the Liberty of preserving the old; the very same which their Ancestors professed from the Time that *Christianity* was first introduced into this Island, which was by *Catholicks*; but whether mingled with Corruptions, as some pretend, doth not belong to the Question. They had

had no Design to change the Government; they never attempted to fight against, to imprison, to betray, to sell, to bring to a Tryal, or to murder their King. The Schismatics acted by a Spirit directly contrary; they united in a *Solemn League and Covenant*, to alter the whole System of Spiritual Government, established in all Christian Nations, and of Apostolick Institution; concluding the Tragedy with the Murder of the King in cold Blood, and upon mature Deliberation; at the same time changing the Monarchy into a Commonwealth.

THE *Catholics* of Ireland, in the great Rebellion, lost their Estates for fighting in Defence of their King. The Schismatics, who cut off the Father's Head, forced the Son to fly for his Life, and overturned the whole ancient Frame of Government, Religious and Civil; obtained Grants of those very Estates which the *Catholics* lost in Defence of the ancient Constitution, many of which Estates are at this Day possessed by the Posterity of those Schismatics: And thus, they gained by their *Rebellion* what the *Catholics* lost by their *Loyalty*.

WE allow the *Catholics* to be *Brethren* of the Dissenters; some People, indeed, (which we cannot allow) would have them to be our Children, because we both dissent from the Church established, and both agree in abolishing this persecuting Sacramental Test; by which *negative Discouragement* we are both rendered incapable of Civil and Military Employments. However, we cannot but wonder at the bold Familiarity of these Schismatics, in calling the Members of the National Church their *Brethren* and *Fellow Protestants*. It is true, that all these Sects (except the *Catholics*)

are *Brethren* to each other in Faction, Ignorance, Iniquity, Perverseness, Pride, and (if we except the *Quakers*) in Rebellion. But, how the Churchmen can be styled their *Fellow Protestants*, we cannot comprehend: Because, when the whole *Babel* of Sectaries joined against the Church, the King, and the Nobility for twenty Years, in a MATCH AT FOOT BALL; where the Proverb expressly tells us, that *All are FELLOWS*; while the three Kingdoms were tossed to and fro, the Churches, and Cities, and Royal Palaces shattered to Pieces by their *Balls*, their *Buffets*, and their *Kicks*; the Victors would allow no more FELLOWS AT FOOT BALL: But murdered, sequestered, plundered, deprived, banished to the Plantations, or enslaved all their Opposers who had *lost the Game*.

It is said the World is governed by *Opinion*; and Politicians assure us, that all Power is founded thereupon. Wherefore, as all human Creatures are fond to Distraction of their own Opinions; and so much the more, as those Opinions are absurd, ridiculous, or of little Moment; it must follow, that they are equally fond of Power. But no Opinions are maintained with so much Obstinacy as those in Religion, especially by such Zealots who never bore the least Regard to Religion, Conscience, Honour, Justice, Truth, Mercy, or common Morality, farther than in outward Appearance; under the Mask of Hypocrisy, to promote their diabolical Designs. And therefore Bishop *Burnet*, one of their Oracles, tells us honestly, that the *Saints* of those Fanatick Times, pronounced themselves above Morality; which they reckoned among *beggarly Elements*; but the Meaning of those two last Words thus applied, we confess to be above our Understanding.

AMONG

AMONG those Kingdoms and States which first embraced the Reformation, *England* appears to have received it in the most regular Way; where it was introduced in a peaceable Manner, by the supreme Power of a King, and the three Estates in Parliament; to which, as the highest legislative Authority, all Subjects are bound passively to submit. Neither was there much Blood shed on so great a Change of Religion. But a considerable Number of Lords, and other Persons of Quality through the Kingdom still continued in their old Faith, and were, notwithstanding their Difference in Religion, employed in Offices Civil as well as Military, more or less in every Reign, until the Test Act in the Time of King *Charles II.* However, from the Time of the Reformation, the Number of *Catholicks* gradually and considerably lessened. So that in the Reign of King *Charles I.* *England* became, in a great Degree, a Protestant Kingdom, without taking the Sectaries into the Number; the Legality whereof, with respect to human Laws, the *Catholicks* never disputed: But the *Puritans*, and other Schismatics, without the least Pretence to any such Authority, by an open Rebellion, destroyed that legal Reformation, as we observed before, murdered their King, and changed the Monarchy into a Republick. It is therefore not to be wondered at, if the *Catholicks*, in such a *Babel* of Religions, chose to adhere to their own Faith left them by their Ancestors, rather than seek for a better among a Rabble of hypocritical, rebellious, deluding Knaves, or deluded Enthusiasts.

We repeat once more, that if a national Religion be changed by the supreme Legislative Power, we cannot dispute the human Legality of such

a Change. But we humbly conceive, that if any considerable Party of Men which differs from an Establishment, either old or new, can deserve Liberty of Conscience, it ought to consist of those who for want of Conviction, or of a right Understanding the Merits of each Cause, conceive themselves bound in Conscience to adhere to the Religion of their Ancestors; because they are of all others least likely to be Authors of Innovations, either in Church or State.

ON t'other Side; If the Reformation of Religion be founded upon Rebellion against the King, without whose Consent by the Nature of our Constitution, no Law can pass. If this Reformation be introduced by only one of the three Estates, I mean the Commons, and not by one half even of those Commons; and this by the Assistance of a rebellious Army: Again, if this Reformation were carried on by the Exclusion of Nobles both Lay and Spiritual (who constitute the two other Parts of the three Estates) by the Murder of their King, and by abolishing the whole System of Government; the *Catholicks* cannot see why the Successors of those Schismatics, who are universally accused by all Parties except themselves, and a few infamous Abettors, for still retaining the same Principles in Religion and Government, under which their Predecessors acted; should pretend to a better Share of Civil or Military Trust, Profit and Power than the *Catholicks*, who during all that Period of twenty Years, were continually persecuted with utmost Severity, merely on account of their Loyalty and constant Adherence to Kingly Power.

WE now come to those Arguments for repealing the Sacramental Test, which equally affect the *Catholicks*, and their Brethren the Dissenters.

First,

First, We agree with our Fellow-Dissenters; that * *Persecution merely for Conscience Sake, is against the Genius of the Gospel.* And so likewise is any Law for depriving Men of their natural and civil Rights which they claim as Men. We are also ready enough to allow that the *smallest negative Discouragements for Uniformity's Sake are so many Persecutions.* Because, it cannot be denied, that the Scratch of a Pin is in some Degree a real Wound, as much as a Stab through the Heart. In like manner, an Incapacity by Law for any Man to be made a Judge, a Colonel, or Justice of the Peace, *merely on a Point of Conscience, is a negative Discouragement,* and consequently a real Persecution: For, in this Case, the Author of the Pamphlet quoted in the † Margin puts a very pertinent and powerful Question: That, *If God be the sole Lord of the Conscience, why should the Rights of Conscience be subject to human Jurisdiction?* Now to apply this to the Catholics: The Belief of Transubstantiation is a Matter purely of Religion and Conscience, which doth not affect the political Interest of Society as such. Therefore, *Why should the Rights of Conscience, whereof GOD is the sole LORD, be subject to human Jurisdiction?* And why should GOD be deprived of this Right over a Catholick's Conscience any more than over that of any other Dissenter?

AND whereas another Author among our Brethren the Dissenters, hath very justly complained, that by this persecuting Test Act, great Numbers of true Protestants have been forced to leave the Kingdom, and fly to the Plantations, rather than stay here BRANDED with an Incapacity for Civil and Military Employments; we do affirm, that

* Vid. Reasons for the Repeal of the Sacramental Test.

† Idem.

the *Catholicks* can bring many more Instances of the same Kind; some Thousands of their Religion having been forced by the Sacramental Test, to retire into other Countries, rather than live here under the Incapacity of wearing Swords, sitting in Parliament, and getting that Share of Power and Profit which belongs to them as *Fellow Christians*, whereof they are deprived merely upon Account of Conscience, which would not allow them to take the Sacrament after the manner prescribed in the Liturgy. Hence it clearly follows in the Words of the same * Author, That if we *Catholicks* are incapable of Employments, we are punished for our Dissent, that is, for our Conscience, which wholly turns upon political Considerations.

THE *Catholicks* are willing to acknowledge the King's Supremacy, whenever their Brethren the Dissenters shall please to shew them an Example.

FURTHER, The *Catholicks*, whenever their Religion shall come to be the national established Faith, are willing to undergo the same Test offered by the Author already quoted. His Words are these: *To end this Debate, by putting it upon a foot which I hope will appear to every impartial Person a fair and equitable one; We Catholicks propose, with Submission to the proper Judges, that effectual Security be taken against Persecution, by obliging all who are admitted into Places of Power and Trust, whatever their religious Profession be, in the most solemn manner to disclaim persecuting Principles. It is hoped the Publick will take Notice of these Words; Whatever their religious Profession be; which plainly includes the Catholicks; and for which we return Thanks to our Dissenting Brethren.*

* See Reasons against the Test.

AND, whereas it is objected by those of the established Church, that if the Schismatics and Fanatics were once put into a Capacity of possessing Civil and Military Employments; they would never be at ease till they had raised their own way of Worship into the National Religion through all His Majesty's Dominions, equal with the *true orthodox Scottish Kirk*; which when they had once brought to pass, they would no more allow Liberty of Conscience to Episcopal Dissenters, than they did in the Time of the great *English* Rebellion, in the succeeding Fanatick Anarchy 'till the King was restored. There is another very learned schismatical * Pamphleteer, who in answer to a malignant Libel, called, *The Presbyterians Plea of Merit, &c.* clearly wipes off this Aspersions; by assuring all Episcopal Protestants of the present Church, upon his own Word, and to his own Knowledge, that our Brethren the Dissenters will never offer at such an Attempt. In like Manner, the *Catholicks* when legally required, will openly declare *upon their Words and Honours*, that, as soon as their *negative Discouragements* and their *Persecution* shall be removed by repealing the Sacramental Test, they will leave it entirely to the Merits of the Cause, whether the Kingdom shall think fit to make their Faith the established Religion or not.

AND again, Whereas our *Presbyterian* Brethren in many of their Pamphlets, take much Offence, that the great Rebellion in *England*, the Murder of the King, with the entire Change of Religion and Government, are perpetually objected against them both in and out of Season, by our common

* Vindication of the Protestant Dissenters.

Enemy, the present Conformists: We do declare in the Defence of our said Brethren, that the Reproach aforesaid is *an old worn-out thread-bare Cant*, which they always disdained to answer: And I very well remember, that, having once told a certain Conformist, how much I wondered to hear him and his Tribe, dwelling perpetually on so beaten a Subject; he was pleased to divert the Discourse with a foolish Story, which I cannot forbear telling to his Disgrace. He said, there was a Clergyman in *Yorkshire*, who for fifteen Years together preached every *Sunday* against Drunkenness: Whereat the Parishioners being much offended, complained to the Archbishop; who having sent for the Clergyman, and severely reprimanded him, the Minister had no better an Answer, than by confessing the Fact; adding, that all the Parish were Drunkards; that he desired to reclaim them from one Vice before he would begin upon another; and, since they still continued to be as great Drunkards as before, he resolved to go on, except his Grace would please to forbid him.

WE are very sensible how heavy an Accusation lyeth upon the *Catholicks of Ireland*; that some Years before King *Charles II.* was restored, when theirs and the King's Forces were entirely reduced, and the Kingdom declared by the Rump to be settled; after all His Majesty's Generals were forced to fly to *France*, or other Countries, the Heads of the said *Catholicks* who remained here in an enslaved Condition, joined to send an Invitation to the Duke of *Lorraine*; engaging, upon his appearing here with his Forces, to deliver up the whole Island to his Power, and declare him their Sovereign; which, after the Restoration, was proved against them by Dean *Boyle*, since Primate, who produced the

the very original Instrument at the Board. The *Catholicks* freely acknowledge the Fact to be true; and, at the same Time appeal to all the World, whether a wiser, a better, a more honourable, or a more justifiable Project could have been thought of. They were then reduced to Slavery and Beggary by the *English* Rebels, many thousands of them murdered, the rest deprived of their Estates, and driven to live on a small Pittance in the Wilds of *Connaught*; at a Time when either the *Rump* or *Cromwell* absolutely governed the three Kingdoms. And the Question will turn upon this, Whether the *Catholicks*, deprived of all their Possessions, governed with a Rod of Iron, and in utter Despair of ever seeing the Monarchy restored, for the Preservation of which they had suffered so much, were to be blamed for calling in a foreign Prince of their own Religion, who had a considerable Army to support them; rather than submit to so infamous an Usurper as *Cromwell*, or such a bloody and ignominious Conventicle as the *Rump*. And I have often heard, not only our Friends the Dissenters, but even our common Enemy the Conformists, who are conversant in the History of those Times, freely confess, that considering the miserable Situation the *Irish* were then in, they could not have thought of a braver or more virtuous Attempt; by which they might have been Instruments of restoring the lawful Monarch, at least to the Recovery of *England* and *Scotland*, from those Betrayers, and Sellers, and Murderers of his Royal Father.

To conclude, Whereas the last quoted Author complains very heavily and frequently of a BRAND that lyes upon them, it is a great Mistake: For the first original BRAND hath been long taken off.

Only

Only we confess, *the* Scar will probably remain and be visible for ever to those who know the Principles by which they acted, and until those Principles shall be openly renounced; else it must continue to all Generations, like the Mark set upon *Cain*, which some Authors say descended to all his Posterity: Or like the *Roman Nose* and *Austrian Lip*, or like the long Bag of Flesh hanging down from the Gills of the People in *Piedmont*. But as for any *Brands* fixed on Schismaticks for several Years past, they have been all made with *cold Iron*; like Thieves, who by the BENEFIT OF THE CLERGY are condemned to be only burned in the Hand; but escape the Pain and the Mark, by being in *Fee* with the JAYLOR. Which Advantage the Schismatical Teachers will never want, who, as we are assured, and of which there is a *very fresh Instance*, have the Souls, and Bodies, and Purfes of their People a hundred times more at their Mercy, than the *Catholick* Priests could ever pretend to.

THEREFORE, upon the whole, the *Catholicks* do humbly petition (*without the least Insinuation of Threat'ning*) that upon this favourable Juncture their Incapacity for Civil and Military Employments may be wholly taken off, for the very same Reasons (besides others more cogent) that are now offered by their *Brethren* the *Dissenters*.

And your Petitioners, as in Duty bound, shall ever pray, &c.

Dublin, Nov. 1733.

SOME
R E A S O N S

AGAINST

The BILL for settling the Tythe of
Hemp, Flax, &c. by a Modus.

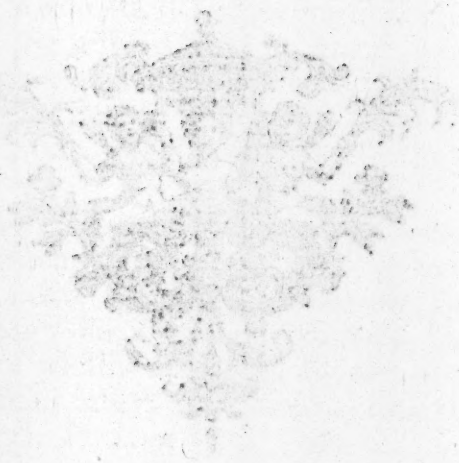


Written in the Year 1734.

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S O M E
R E A S O N S
A G A I N S T

The BILL for settling the Tythe of
Hemp, Flax, &c. by a Modus.

THE Clergy did little expect to have any Cause of Complaint against the present House of Commons; who in the last Sessions were pleased to throw out a Bill sent them from the Lords, which that Reverend Body apprehended would be very injurious to them, if it passed into a Law: And who, in the present Sessions, defeated the Arts and Endeavours of *Schismaticks* to repeal the *Sacramental Test*.

FOR, although it hath been allowed on all Hands, that the former of those Bills might, by its necessary Consequences, be very displeasing to the lay Gentlemen of the Kingdom, for many Reasons purely secular; and, that this last Attempt for repealing the *Test*, did much more affect, at present, the Temporal Interest than the Spiritual; yet the whole Body of the lower Clergy have, upon both those Occasions, expressed e-

qual Gratitude to that honourable House, for their Justice and Steadiness, as if the Clergy alone were to receive the Benefit.

It must needs be therefore a great Addition to the Clergy's Grief, that such an Assembly as the present House of Commons; should now, with an Expedition more than usual, agree to a Bill for encouraging the Linen Manufacture; with a Clause, whereby the Church is to lose two Parts in three, of the legal Tythe in Flax and Hemp.

SOME Reasons why the Clergy think such a Law will be a great Hardship upon them, are, I conceive, those that follow. I shall venture to enumerate them with all Deference due to that honourable Assembly.

First, The Clergy suppose that they have not, by any Fault or Demerit, incurred the Displeasure of the Nation's Representatives: Neither can the declared Loyalty of the present Set, from the highest Prelate to the lowest Vicar, be in the least disputed: Because, there are hardly ten Clergymen through the whole Kingdom, for more than nineteen Years past, who have not been either preferred entirely upon account of their declared Affection to the *Hanover* Line; or higher promoted as the due Reward of the same Merit.

THERE is not a Landlord in the whole Kingdom, residing some Part of the Year at his Country Seat, who is not, in his own Conscience, fully convinced, that the Tythes of his Minister have gradually sunk, for some Years past, one Third, or at least one Fourth of their former Value, exclusive of all Non-solvencies.

THE Payment of Tythes in this Kingdom, is subject to so many Frauds, Brangles, and other Difficulties, not only from *Papists* and *Dissenters*,
but

but even from those who profess themselves *Protestants*; that by the Expence, the Trouble, and Vexation of collecting or bargaining for them, they are, of all other Rents, the most precarious, uncertain, and ill paid.

THE Landlords in most Parishes expect, as a Compliment, that they shall pay little more than half the Value of their Tythes for the Lands they hold in their own Hands; which often consists of large Domains: And it is the Minister's Interest to make them easy upon that Article, when he considers what Influence those Gentlemen have upon their Tenants.

THE Clergy cannot but think it extremely severe, that in a Bill for encouraging the Linen Manufacture, they alone must be the Sufferers, who can least afford it: If, as I am told, there be a Tax of three thousand Pounds a Year, paid by the Publick, for a further Encouragement to the said Manufacture; are not the Clergy equal Sharers in the Charge with the rest of their Fellow Subjects? What satisfactory Reason can be therefore given, why they alone should bear the whole additional Weight, unless it will be alledged, that their Property is not upon an equal Foot with the Properties of other Men. They acquire their own small Pittonce, by at least as honest Means as their Neighbours the Landlords possess their Estates; and have been always supposed, except in rebellious or fanatical Times, to have as good a Title: For, no Families now in being, can shew a more ancient. Indeed, if it be true, that some Persons (I hope they were not many) were seen to laugh when the Right of the Clergy were mentioned; in this Case, an Opinion may possibly be soon advanced, that they have no

Rights at all. And this is likely enough to gain Ground, in Proportion as the Contempt of all Religion shall increase, which is already in a very forward Way.

IT is said, there will be also added in this Bill, a Clause for diminishing the Tythe of Hops, in order to cultivate that useful Plant among us: And here, likewise, the Load is to lye entirely on the Shoulders of the Clergy, while the Landlords reap all the Benefit. It will not be easy to foresee where such Proceedings are like to stop: Or whether by the same Authority, in civil Times, a Parliament may not as justly challenge the same Power, in reducing all Things tytheable, not below the tenth Part of the Product (which is, and ever will be the Clergy's equitable Right) but from a tenth Part to a sixtieth or eightieth, and from thence to nothing.

I HAVE heard it granted by skilful Persons, that the Practice of taxing the Clergy by Parliament, without their own Consent, is a new thing, not much above the Date of seventy Years: Before which Period, in Times of Peace, they always taxed themselves. But things are extremely altered at present: It is not now sufficient to tax them in common with their Fellow Subjects, without imposing an additional Tax upon them, from which, or from any thing equivalent, all their Fellow Subjects are exempt; and this in a Country professing *Christianity*.

THE greatest Part of the Clergy throughout this Kingdom, have been stripped of their Glebes by the Confusion of Times, by Violence, Fraud, Oppression, and other unlawful Means; all which Glebes are now in the Hands of the Laity. So that they now are generally forced to lye at the
Mercy

Mercy of Landlords, for a small Piece of Ground in their Parishes, at a most exorbitant Rent, and usually for a short Term of Years; whereon to build a House, and enable them to reside. Yet, in Spight of these Disadvantages, I am a Witness that they are generally more constant Residents than their Brethren in *England*; where the meanest Vicar hath a convenient Dwelling, with a Barn, a Garden, and a Field or two for his Cattle; besides the Certainty of his little Income from honest Farmers, able and willing not only to pay him his Dues, but likewise to make him Presents, according to their Ability, for his better Support. In all which Circumstances, the Clergy of *Ireland* meet with a Treatment directly contrary.

It is hoped the honourable House will consider that it is impossible for the most ill-minded, avaricious, or cunning Clergyman, to do the least Injustice to the meanest Cottager in his Parish, in any Bargain for Tythes, or other Ecclesiastical Dues. He can, at the utmost, only demand to have his Tythe fairly laid out; and does not once in a hundred Times obtain his Demand. But every Tenant, from the poorest Cottager to the most substantial Farmer, can, and generally doth, impose upon the Minister, by Fraud, by Theft, by Lyes, by Perjuries, by Insolence, and sometimes by Force; notwithstanding the utmost Vigilance and Skill of himself and his Proctor. Insomuch, that it is allowed, that the Clergy in general receive little more than one half of their legal Dues; not including the Charges they are at in collecting or bargaining for them.

THE Land Rents of *Ireland* are computed to about two Millions, whereof one Tenth amounts to two hundred thousand Pounds. The beneficed

Clergymen, excluding those of this City, are not reckoned to be above five hundred; by which Computation, they should each of them possess two hundred Pounds a Year, if those Tythes were equally divided, although in well cultivated Corn Countries it ought to be more; whereas they hardly receive one half of that Sum, with great Defalcations, and in very bad Payments. There are indeed, a few Glebes in the North pretty considerable, but if these and all the rest were in like manner equally divided, they would not add five Pounds a Year to every Clergyman. Therefore, whether the Condition of the Clergy in general among us be justly liable to Envy, or able to bear a heavy Burthen, which neither the Nobility, nor Gentry, nor Tradesmen, nor Farmers, will touch with one of their Fingers; this, I say, is submitted to the honourable House.

ONE terrible Circumstance in this Bill, is that of turning the Tythe of *Flax* and *Hemp* into what the Lawyers call a *Modus*, or a certain Sum in lieu of a tenth Part of the Product. And by this Practice of claiming a *Modus* in many Parishes by ancient Custom, the Clergy in both Kingdoms have been almost incredible Sufferers. Thus, in the present Case, the Tythe of a tolerable Acre of *Flax*, which by a Medium is worth twelve Shillings, is by the present Bill reduced to four Shillings. Neither is this the worst Part in a *Modus*; every determinate Sum must in Process of Time sink from a fourth to a four and twentieth Part, or a great deal lower, by that necessary Fall attending the Value of Money, which is now at least nine Tenths lower all over *Europe* than it was four hundred Years ago, by a gradual Decline; and even a third Part, at least, within our
own

own Memories, in purchasing almost every thing required for the Necessities or Conveniences of Life; as any Gentleman can attest, who hath kept House for twenty Years past. And this will equally affect poor Countries as well as rich. For, although I look upon it as an Impossibility that this Kingdom should ever thrive under its present Disadvantages, which without a Miracle must still increase; yet, when the whole Cash of the Nation shall sink to fifty thousand Pounds; we must in all our Traffick abroad, either of Import or Export, go by the general Rate at which Money is valued in those Countries that enjoy the common Privileges of human Kind. For this Reason, no Corporation (if the Clergy may presume to call themselves one) should by any means grant away their Properties in Perpetuity upon any Consideration whatsoever: Which is a Rock that many Corporations have split upon, to their great Impoverishment, and sometimes to their utter Undoing. Because they are supposed to subsist for ever; and because no Determination of Money is of any certain perpetual intrinsic Value. This is known enough in *England*, where Estates let for ever, some hundred Years ago, by several ancient noble Families, do not at this present pay their Posterity a twentieth Part of what they are now worth at an easy Rent.

A TAX affecting one Part of a Nation, which already bears its full Share in all Parliamentary Impositions, cannot possibly be just, except it be inflicted as a Punishment upon that Body of Men which is taxed, for some great Demerit, or Danger to the Publick, apprehended from those upon whom it is laid: Thus the *Papists* and *Non-Jurors* have been doubly taxed for refusing to give proper

Securities to the Government; which cannot be objected against the Clergy. And therefore, if this Bill should pass; I think it ought to be with a Preface, shewing wherein they have offended, and for what Disaffection or other Crime they are punished.

IF an additional Excise upon Ale, or a Duty upon Flesh and Bread, were to be enacted, neither the Victualler, Butcher, or Baker would bear any more of the Charge than for what themselves consumed; but it would be an equal general Tax through the whole Kingdom: Whereas, by this Bill, the Clergy alone are avowedly condemned to be deprived of their ancient, inherent, undisputed Rights, in order to encourage a Manufacture by which all the rest of the Kingdom are supposed to be Gainers.

THIS Bill is directly against *Magna Charta*, whereof the first Clause is for confirming the inviolable Rights of Holy Church; as well as contrary to the Oath taken by all our Kings at their Coronation, where they swear to defend and protect the Church in all Rights.

A TAX laid upon Employments is a very different thing. The Possessors of Civil and Military Employments are no Corporation; neither are they any Part of our Constitution: Their Salaries, Pay, and Perquisites are all changeable at the Pleasure of the Prince who bestows them, although the Army be paid from Funds raised and appropriated by the Legislature. But the Clergy as they have little Reason to expect, so they desire no more than their ancient legal Dues; only indeed with the Removal of many grievous Impediments in the Collection of them; which, it is to be feared, they must wait for until more favourable

vourable Times. It is well known, that they have already, of their own Accord, shewn great Indulgence to their People upon this very Article of *Flax*, seldom taking above a fourth Part of their Tythe for small Parcels, and oftentimes nothing at all from new-Beginners; waiting with Patience until the Farmers were able, and until greater Quantities of Land were employed in that Part of Husbandry; never suspecting that their good Intentions should be perverted in so singular a Manner to their Detriment, by that very Assembly, which, during the Time that Convocations (which are an original Part of our Constitution, ever since *Christianity* became National among us) are thought fit to be suspended, God knows for what Reason, or from what Provocations; I say from that very Assembly, who, during the Intervals of Convocations, should rather be supposed to be Guardians of the Rights and Properties of the Clergy, than to make the least Attempt upon either.

I HAVE not heard, upon Enquiry, that any of those Gentlemen, who, among us without Doors are called the Court-Party, discover the least Zeal in this Affair. If they had Thoughts to interpose, it might be conceived they would shew their Displeasure against this Bill, which must very much lessen the Value of the King's Patronage upon Promotion to vacant Sees; in the Disposals of Deanries, and other considerable Preferments in the Church, which are in the Donation of the Crown; whereby the Viceroy's will have fewer good Preferments to bestow on their Dependents, as well as upon the Kindred of Members, who may have a sufficient Stock of that Sort of Merit, whatever
it

it may be, which may in future Times most prevail.

THE *Dissenters*, by not succeeding in their Endeavours to procure a Repeal of the *Test*, have lost nothing, but continue in a full Enjoyment of their Toleration; while the Clergy, without giving the least Offence, are by this Bill deprived of a considerable Branch of their ancient legal Rights, whereby the Schismatical Party will have the Pleasure of gratifying their Revenge. *Hoc Graui voluere.*

THE Farmer will find no Relief by this *Modus*, because when his present Lease shall expire, his Landlord will infallibly raise the Rent in an equal Proportion, upon every Part of Land where Flax is sown, and have so much a better Security for Payment at the Expence of the Clergy.

If we judge by Things past, it little avails that this Bill is to be limited to a certain Time of ten, twenty, or thirty Years. For no Landlord will ever consent that a Law shall expire, by which he finds himself a Gainer; and of this there are many Examples as well in *England* as in this Kingdom.

THE great End of this Bill is by proper Encouragement to extend the Linen Manufacture into those Counties where it hath hitherto been little cultivated: But this Encouragement of *lessening the Tythe of Flax and Hemp* is one of such a Kind as, it is to be feared, will have a directly contrary Effect. Because, if I am rightly informed, no Set of Men hath for their Number and Fortunes been more industrious and successful than the Clergy, in introducing that Manufacture into Places which were unacquainted with it; by persuading their People to sow *Flax* and *Hemp*, by procuring
Seed

Seed for them, and by having them instructed in the Management thereof; and this they did not without reasonable hopes of increasing the Value of their Parishes after some time, as well as of promoting the Benefit of the Publick. But if this *Modus* should take Place, the Clergy will be so far from gaining, that they will become Losers by any extraordinary Care, by having their best arable Lands turned to *Flax* and *Hemp*, which are reckoned great Impoverishers of Land: They cannot therefore be blamed, if they should shew as much Zeal to prevent its being introduced or improved in their Parishes, as they hitherto have shewed in the introducing and improving it. This, I am told, some of them have already declared, at least so far as to resolve not to give themselves any more Trouble than other Men about promoting a Manufacture, by the Success of which, they only of all Men are to be Sufferers. Perhaps the giving them even a further Encouragement than the Law doth, as it now stands, to a Set of Men who might on many Accounts be so useful to this Purpose, would be no bad Method of having the great End of the Bill more effectually answered: But this is what they are far from desiring; all they petition for is no more than to continue on the same Footing with the rest of their Fellow Subjects.

If this *Modus* of paying by the Acre be to pass into a Law, it were to be wished that the same Law would appoint one or more sworn Surveyors in each Parish, to measure the Lands on which *Flax* and *Hemp* are sown, as also would settle the Price of Surveying, and determine whether the Incumbent or Farmer is to pay for each annual Survey. Without something of this Kind, there must constantly be Disputes between them,
and

and the neighbouring Justices of Peace must be teized as often as those Disputes happen.

I HAD written thus far, when a Paper was sent to me with several Reasons against the Bill, some whereof, although they have been already touched, are put in a better Light, and the rest did not occur to me. I shall deliver them in the Author's own Words.

N. B. Some Alterations have been in the Bill about the Modus, since the above Paper was wrote; but they are of little Moment.



SOME

SOME
Further R E A S O N S
A G A I N S T

The B I L L for settling the Tythe of
Hemp, Flax, &c.

I. **T**HAT Tythes are the Patrimony of the Church: And if not of Divine Original, yet at least of great Antiquity.

II. **T**HAT all Purchases and Leases of Tytheable Lands, for many Centuries past, have been made and taken, subject to the Demand of Tythes, and those Lands sold and taken just so much the cheaper on that Account.

III. **T**HAT if any Lands are exempted from Tythes; or the legal Demands of such Tythes lessened by Act of Parliament, so much Value is taken from the Proprietor of the Tythes, and vested in the Proprietor of the Lands, or his head Tenants.

IV. **T**HAT no innocent unoffending Person can be so deprived of his Property, without the greatest Violation of common Justice.

V. **T**HAT to do this upon a Prospect of encouraging the Linen or any other Manufacture is acting upon a very mistaken and unjust Supposition,
inasmuch

inasmuch as the Price of the Lands so occupied will be no way lessened to the Farmer by such a Law.

VI. THAT the Clergy are content chearfully to bear (as they now do) any Burthen in common with their fellow Subjects, either for the Support of his Majesty's Government, or the Encouragement of the Trade of the Nation, but think it very hard that they should be singled out to pay heavier Taxes than others, at a Time when by the Decrease of the Value of their Parishes they are less able to bear them.

VII. THAT the Legislature hath heretofore distinguished the Clergy by Exemptions, and not by additional Loads, and the present Clergy of the Kingdom hope they have not deserved worse of the Legislature than their Predecessors.

VIII. THAT by the original Constitution of these Kingdoms, the Clergy had the sole Right of taxing themselves, and were in Possession of that Right as low as the Restoration: And if that Right be now devolved upon the Commons by the Cession of the Clergy, the Commons can be considered in this Case in no other Light than as the Guardians of the Clergy.

IX. THAT besides those Tythes always in the Possession of the Clergy, there are some Portions of Tythes lately come into their Possession by Purchase; that if this Clause should take Place, they would not be allowed the Benefit of these Purchases upon an equal Foot of Advantage with the rest of their fellow Subjects. And that some Tythes in the Hands of Impropiators are under Settlements and Mortgages.

X. THAT the Gentlemen of this House should consider, that loading the Clergy is loading their
own

own younger Brothers and Children, with this additional Grievance, that it is taking from the younger and poorer to give to the elder and richer; and

Lastly, That if it were at any time just and proper to do this, it would however be too severe to do it now, when all the Tythes of the Kingdom are known for some Years past to have sunk almost above one third Part in their Value.

ANY Income in the Hands of the Clergy, is at least as useful to the Publick as the same Income in the Hands of the Laity.

IT were more reasonable to grant the Clergy in three Parts of the Nation an additional Support than to diminish the present Subsistence.

GREAT Employments are and will be in the Hands of *Englishmen*; nothing left for the younger Sons of *Irishmen* but Vicarages, Tide-Waiters Places, &c. therefore no reason to make them worse.

THE *Modus* upon the *Flax* in *England* affects only Lands reclaimed since the Year 1690, and is at the Rate of five Shillings the *English* Acre, which is equivalent to eight Shillings and eight Pence *Irish*, and that to be paid before the Farmer removed it from the Field. *Flax* is a Manufacture of little Consequence in *England*, but is the Staple in *Ireland*, and if it increases (as it probably will) must in many Places jostle out Corn, because it is more gainful.

THE Clergy of the established Church have no Interest like those of the Church of *Rome*, distinct from the true Interest of their Country, and therefore ought to suffer under no distinct Impositions or Taxes of any kind.

THE Bill for settling the *Modus* of *Flax* in *England* was brought in, in the first Year of the Reign of King *George I.* when the Clergy lay very unjustly

justly under the Imputation of some Disaffection; and to encourage the bringing in of some Fens in *Lincolnshire* which were not to be continued under *Flax*, but it left all Lands where *Flax* had been sown before that Time, under the same Condition of Tything in which they were before the passing of that Bill. Whereas this Bill takes away what the Clergy are actually possessed of.

THAT the Woollen Manufacture is the Staple of *England*, as the Linen is that of *Ireland*, yet no Attempt was ever made in *England* to reduce the Tythe of Wool for the Encouragement of that Manufacture. This Manufacture hath already been remarkably favoured by the Clergy, who have hitherto been generally content with less than half, some with six Pence a Garden, and some have taken nothing.

EMPLOYMENTS, they say, have been taxed; the Reasons for which Taxation will not hold with regard to Property, at least till Employments become Inheritances. The Commons always have had so tender a regard to Property that they never would suffer any Law to pass, whereby any particular Persons might be aggrieved without their own Consent.



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F I N I S.





